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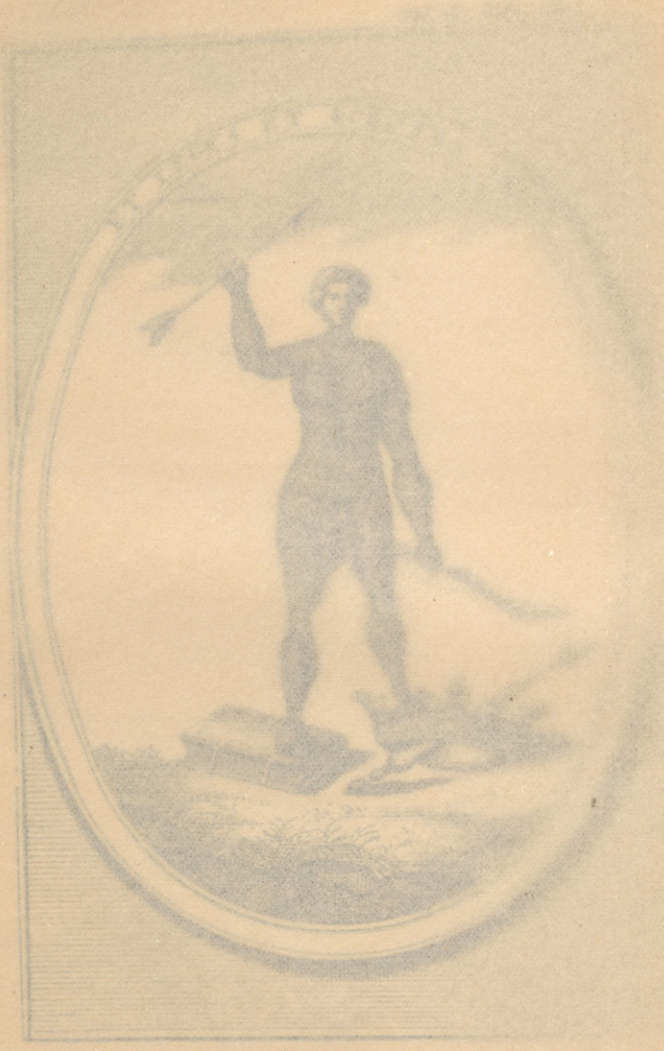
LAHONTAN'S
NEW VOYAGES TO NORTH-AMERICA

EDITED BY
REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL.D.

VOLUME II

vol. II. Title Page





NEW VOYAGES

TO

NORTH-AMERICA

BY THE

BARON DE LAHONTAN

Reprinted from the English edition of 1703, with facsimiles of original title-pages, maps, and illustrations, and the addition of Introduction, Notes, and Index

By Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D.

Editor of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," Hennepin's "New Discovery," etc.

In Two Volumes

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CONTENTS — VOLUME II

PAGE

LAHONTAN'S "NEW VOYAGES TO NORTH-AMERICA"— Volume II.

Title-page (facsimile of original) 409

Discourses —

Of the Habit, Houſes, Complexion and Temperament of the Savages of North-America . . 411

Of the Humours and Cuſtoms of the Savages . 420

The Belief of the Savages, and the Obſtacles of their Converſion 434

The way of Worſhip, uſed by the Savages . . 446

Of the Amours and Marriages of the Savages . 451

Of the Diſeaſes and Remedies of the Savages . . 465

The Diverſions of Hunting and Shooting uſual among the Savages 476

The Military Art of the Savages 495

A View of the Heraldry, or the Coats of Arms of the Savages 510

An Explication of the Savage Hieroglyphicks . 512

A Conference or Dialogue between the Author and Adario, a Noted Man among the Savages, Containing a Circumſtantial View of the Cuſtoms and Humours of that People 517

PAGE

An Appendix, Containing ſome New Voyages to Portugal and Denmark; after the Author's Retirement from Canada:

Letters I (Lisbon, April 20, 1694) – VII (Saragoza, October 8, 1695) 619

A Short Dictionary of the moſt Univerſal Language of the Savages 732

INDEX — *The Editor* 751

ILLUSTRATIONS—VOLUME II

(FACSIMILES OF ORIGINALS)

	PAGE
Figure of Indian in an Oval	*Frontispiece*
"A Village of the Savages of Canada"; with figures of men and children	*Facing* 430
Diagram showing "The way of Worſhip" .	„ 464
Sketches illustrating "Amours and Marriages" .	„ 492
Sketches illustrating remedies, death, and burial .	„ 524
"A Beaver Pool," and methods of hunting beavers	„ 556
A beaver hunt	„ 588
"The Military Art" (a)	„ 622
"The Military Art" (b)	„ 654
"Coats of Arms"	„ 686
"Hieroglyphick Symbols"	„ 720

NEW

VOYAGES

TO

North-America.

Giving a full Account of the Customs, Commerce, Religion, and strange Opinions of the Savages of that Country.

WITH

POLITICAL REMARKS upon the Courts of *Portugal* and *Denmark*, and the Present State of the Commerce of those Countries.

Never Printed before.

WRITTEN

By the Baron LAHONTAN, Lord Lieutenant of the *French* Colony at *Placentia* in *Newfoundland*: Now in *England*.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

Printed for *H. Bonwicke* in St. *Paul's* Church-yard; *T. Goodwin*, *M. Wotton*, *B. Tooke* in *Fleetstreet*; and *S. Manship* in *Cornhill*, 1703.

[1] A

DISCOURSE

OF THE

Habit, Houſes, Complexion and Temperament

OF THE

SAVAGES

OF

NORTH-AMERICA.

THE *Grecian* Chronologers who divided the courſe of Time into three Periods, namely the ἄδηλον, or that which is wrapt up in Obſcurity, the μυθιχὸν, *alias* ἡζωιχὸν, or that which was the ſeaſon of Fiction and Fables, and the ἱσοειχὸν which affords us true and creditable Actions: Theſe Chronologers, I ſay, might have ſav'd themſelves the trouble of writing a Thouſand idle Stories relating to the Original of the Inhabitants of the Earth; for the invention of Writing being unknown to them before the Siege of *Troy*, they had no other Standard to conſult [2] but the Fabulous Manuſcripts of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*, who were a Phanatick Superſtitious ſort of People. But ſuppoſing the

Egyptians and *Chaldeans* to have invented the Art of Writing, what Credit can we give to the accounts of things that are ſaid to have happen'd before the date of that Invention? In all probability they knew no more of the matter than the *Americans*, and upon that ſcore 'twas very hard for them to give a faithful Narrative of the Adventures and Exploits of their Anceſtors. I am now fully convinc'd that Tradition is ſo inconſtant, obſcure, uncertain and fallacious, that we cann't pretend to rely upon it. And this Notion I owe to the Savages of *Canada*, who being at a loſs to trace the truth of what has been tranſacted in their own Country but 200 Years ago, gave me occaſion to call in Queſtion the Purity and Truth of Tradition. Upon this lay you may eaſily apprehend, that theſe poor People are as little acquainted with their own Hiſtory and Origin, as the *Greeks* and *Chaldeans* were with theirs. Let us therefore content our ſelves, *my good Friend*, in believing that they are deſcended of honeſt old *Adam*, as well as you and I.

I have read ſome Hiſtories of *Canada*, which were writ at ſeveral times by the Monks, and muſt own that they have given ſome plain and exact Deſcriptions of ſuch Countries as they knew; but at the ſame time they are widely miſtaken in their Accounts of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Savages.[1]

[1] The "monkish histories" of Canada which Lahontan had probably seen, were: *Jesuit Relations*, of which forty volumes had been published yearly in Paris from 1632–73; Du Creux, *Historiæ Canadensis seu Novæ-Franciæ* (Paris, 1664), largely composed from the *Relations;* and Thévenot, *Receuil des Voyages Curieux* (Paris, 1681), containing Marquette's account of his discoveries. The Recollect historians were Sagard-Theodat, *Histoire du Canada et voyages que les frères*

The Recollets brand the Savages for ſtupid, groſs and ruſtick Perſons, uncapable of Thought or Reflection: But the Jeſuits give them other ſort of Language, for they intitle them to good Senſe, to a tenacious Memory, and to a quick Apprehenſion ſeaſon'd [3] with a ſolid Judgment. The former allege that 'tis to no purpoſe to preach the Goſpel to a ſort of People that have leſs Knowledge than the Brutes.[1] On the other hand the latter (I mean the Jeſuits) give it out, that theſe Savages take Pleaſure in hearing the Word of God, and readily apprehend the meaning of the Scriptures. In the mean time, 'tis no difficult matter to point to the Reaſons that influence the one and the other to ſuch Allegations; the Myſtery is eaſily unravell'd by thoſe who know that theſe two Orders cannot ſet their Horſes together in *Canada*.[2]

I have ſeen ſo many impertinent Accounts of this Country, and thoſe written by Authors that paſs'd for Saints; that I now begin to believe, that all Hiſtory is one continued

mineurs Récollets y ont faicts (1636); Le Clercq, *Premier établissement de la foy dans la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1691); Hennepin, *Description de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1683); *New Discovery* (London, 1698). — Ed.

[1] See Thwaites (ed.), *Hennepin's New Discovery*, p. 466, for an example of this allegation of the Recollects. — Ed.

[2] The rivalry between the two orders was nearly co-extensive with the history of New France, where the Recollects were first upon the field, but after 1632 were supplanted by the Jesuits. Talon re-introduced the Recollects to Canada in 1670, that they might act as a foil to the Jesuits. The former were supported by Frontenac and the governor's party in the colony, and accompanied La Salle upon his explorations. Lahontan means to intimate that the difference in the attitude of the two orders towards the savages, rested upon the varying success of their respective missions — those of the Jesuits being large and flourishing, of the Recollects few and languishing. — Ed.

Series of Pyrrhoniſm.[1] Had I been unacquainted with the Language of the Savages, I might have credited all that was ſaid of them; but the opportunity I had of Converſing with that People, ſerv'd to undeceive me, and gave me to underſtand, that the Recollets and the Jeſuits content themſelves with glancing at things, without taking notice of the (almoſt) invincible Averſion of the Savages to the Truths of Chriſtianity. Both the one and the other had good reaſon to be cautious of touching upon that String. In the mean time ſuffer me to acquaint you, that upon this Head I only ſpeak of the Savages of *Canada*, excluding thoſe that live beyond the River of *Miſſiſipi*, of whoſe Manners and Cuſtoms I could not acquire a perfect Scheme, by reaſon that I was unacquainted with their Languages, not to mention that I had not time to make any long ſtay in their Country. In the Journal of my Voyage upon the long River, I acquainted you that they are a very polite People, which you [4] will likewiſe infer from the Circumſtances mention'd in that Diſcourſe.

Thoſe who have repreſented the Savages to be as rough as Bears, never had the opportunity of ſeeing them; for they have neither Beard nor Hair in any part of their Body, not ſo much as under their Arm-pits.[2] This is true of both Sexes, if I may credit thoſe who ought to know better than I.

---

[1] Pyrrho was a Greek philosopher, founder of the school of absolute skepticism. — Ed.

[2] The Indians are not altogether beardless; but, disliking the custom of wearing hair upon the face, pluck it out by the roots. See *Jesuit Relations*, i, p. 281; ii, p. 23, where Membertou, the Acadian chief, is spoken of as being bearded like a Frenchman. — Ed.

Generally they are proper well made Perſons, and fitter Companions to *American* than to *European* Women. The *Iroqueſe* are of a larger Stature, and withal more Valiant and Cunning than the other Nations; but at the ſame time they are neither ſo Nimble nor ſo Dexterous at the Exerciſes of War or Hunting, which they never go about but in great Numbers. The *Illineſe*, the *Oumamis*, and the *Outagamins;* with ſome other adjacent Nations, are of an indifferent ſize, and run like Greyhounds, if the Compariſon be allowable. The *Outaouas*, and moſt of the other Savages to the *Northward*, (excepting the *Sauteurs* and the *Cliſtinos*) are cowardly, ugly, and ungainly Fellows; but the *Hurons* are a brave, active and daring People, reſembling the *Iroqueſe* in their Stature and Countenance.

All the Savages are of a Sanguine Conſtitution, inclining to an Olive Colour, and generally ſpeaking they have good Faces and proper Perſons. 'Tis a great rarity to find any among them that are Lame, Hunch-back'd, One-ey'd, Blind, or Dumb.[1] Their Eyes are large and black as well as their Hair; their Teeth are White like Ivory, and the Breath that ſprings from their Mouth in expiration is as pure as the Air that they ſuck in in Inſpiration, notwithſtanding they eat no Bread; which ſhews that we are miſtaken in *Europe*, in fancying that the eating of Meat [5] without Bread makes one's breath ſtink. They are neither ſo ſtrong nor ſo vigorous as moſt of the *French* are in raiſing of Weights with their Arms,

[1] On immunity from disease and deformity, consult *Jes. Rel.*, iii, p. 75.—Ed.

or carrying of Burdens on their Backs; but to make amends for that, they are indefatigable and inur'd to Hardſhips, inſomuch that the Inconveniences of Cold or Heat have no impreſſion upon them; their whole time being ſpent in the way of Exerciſe, whether in running up and down at Hunting and Fiſhing, or in Dancing and playing at Foot-ball, or ſuch Games as require the Motion of the Legs.

The Women are of an indifferent Stature, and as handſom in the Face as you can well imagine; but then they are ſo fat, unwieldy and ill-built, that they'l ſcarce tempt any but Savages. Their Hair is rolled up behind with a ſort of Ribband, and that Roller hangs down to their Girdle; they never offer to cut their Hair during the whole Courſe of their Lives, whereas the Men cut theirs every Month.[1] Twere to be wiſhed, that the ſame good luck which led them to the obſervation of this, had thrown them upon the other Advices of St. *Paul*. They are covered from the Neck to under the Knee, and always put their Legs a croſs when they ſit. The Girls do the ſame from their *Cradle;* if the Word be not improper, for there is no ſuch thing as a *Cradle* among the Savages. The Mothers make uſe of certain little Boards ſtuffed with Cotton, upon which the Children lye as if their Backs were glued to them, being ſwaddled in Linnen, and kept on with Swathbands run through the ſides of the Boards. To theſe Boards they tye

[1] On the various fashions of hair-dressing among the Indians, see *Jes. Rel.*, xliv, pp. 285, 287. A woman's hair was sometimes cut as a punishment for adultery. — Ed.

Strings, by which they hang their Children upon the Branches of Trees, when they are about any thing in the Woods.[1]

[6] The old and the married Men have a piece of Stuff which covers them behind, and reaches half way down their Thighs before; whereas the young Men are ſtark naked all over. They alledge that Nakedneſs is no infraction upon the Meaſures of Decency, any otherwiſe than as it is contrary to the Cuſtom of the *Europeans*, and condemn'd by the Notion that they have of it. However, both the young and the old hang upon their Backs in a careleſs way a Covering of Hide or of Scarlet, when they go abroad to Walk or to make Viſits. They have likewiſe a ſort of Cloaks or Coats calculated for the Seaſon, when they go a Hunting or upon Warlike Expeditions, in order to guard off the Cold in Winter, and the Flies in Summer. Upon ſuch occaſions they make uſe of a ſort of Caps made in the form of a Hat, and Shooes of Elk or Hart Skins, which reach up to their mid-Leg.[2]

Their Villages are Fortified with double Paliſſadoes of very hard Wood, which are as thick as one's Thigh, and fifteen Foot high, with little Squares about the middle of the Courtines. Commonly their Huts or Cottages are Eighty Foot long, Twenty five or Thirty Foot deep, and Twenty Foot high. They are cover'd with the Bark of young Elms;

[1] For a good description of these Indian cradles, see Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels*, ii, pp. 97, 98; Masson, *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (Quebec, 1890), ii, pp. 322, 323. — ED.

[2] Le Jeune gives in *Jes. Rel.*, vii, pp. 7–19, a good description of the various kinds of dress among the Canadian Indians at different seasons of the year. — ED.

and have two Alcoves, one on the right Hand and the other on the left, being a Foot high and nine Foot broad, between which they make their Fires, there being vents made in the Roof for the Smoak. Upon the ſides of the two Alcoves there are little Cloſets or Apartments in which the young Women or married Perſons lye upon little Beds rais'd about a Foot from the Ground. To Conclude, one Hut contains three or four Families.[1]

[7] The Savages are very Healthy, and unacquainted with an infinity of Diſeaſes, that plague the *Europeans*, ſuch as the *Palſey*, the *Dropſey*, the *Gout*, the *Phthiſick*, the *Aſthma*, the *Gravel*, and the *Stone:* But at the ſame time they are liable to the *Small-Pox*, and to *Pleuriſies*. If a Man dies at the Age of Sixty Years, they think he dies young, for they commonly live to Eighty or an Hundred; nay, I met with two that were turn'd of an Hundred ſeveral Years.[2] But there are ſome among them that do not live ſo long, becauſe they voluntarily ſhorten their Lives by poyſoning themſelves, as I ſhall ſhew

[1] The domestic architecture of the American aborigines varied with the tribe and their habitat. Lahontan had ranged from Newfoundland to Mackinac, if not farther, and it is a question which of the many classes of huts he had seen he is now describing. Probably he refers to those of the Huron, who then lived in settled villages both in the Mackinac district and near the French fort on Lake St. Clair. See Parkman, *Jesuits in North America*, pp. xxvi–xxviii. Upon the entire subject of Indian dwellings, consult Morgan, "Houses and House-Life of American Aborigines," United States Geological Survey, *Contributions to Ethnology*, 1881. — Ed.

[2] Early travellers obtained a mistaken notion of Indian longevity. Older chiefs, like many old men among the whites, took pride in their length of years and delighted in enlarging upon the facts. Modern observation proves that savages are the victims of their unsanitary life, and are subject to peculiar hardships and vicissitudes, hence die rather younger than white men. — Ed.

you elſewhere. In this Point they ſeem to join iſſue with *Zeno* and the *Stoicks*, who vindicate *Self-Murther;* and from thence I conclude, that the *Americans* are as great Fools as theſe great Philoſophers.

A ſhort View of the Humors and Cuſtoms of the SAVAGES.

THE *Savages* are utter Strangers to diſtinctions of Property, for what belongs to one is equally anothers. If any one of them be in danger at the Beaver Hunting the reſt fly to his Aſſiſtance without being ſo much as ask'd. If his Fuſee burſts they are ready to offer him their own. If any of his Children be kill'd or taken by the Enemy, he is preſently furniſh'd with as many Slaves as he hath occaſion for. Money is in uſe with none of them but thoſe that are Chriſtians, who live in the Suburbs of our Towns. The others will not touch or ſo much as look upon Silver, but give it the odious Name of the *French Serpent.* They'l tell you that amongſt [8] us the People Murther, Plunder, Defame, and betray one another, for Money, that the Husbands make Merchandize of their Wives, and the Mothers of their Daughters, for the Lucre of that Metal. They think it unaccountable that one Man ſhould have more than another, and that the Rich ſhould have more Reſpect than the Poor. In ſhort, they ſay, the name of Savages which we beſtow upon them would fit our ſelves better, ſince there is nothing in our Actions that bears an appearance of Wiſdom. Such as have been in *France* were continually teazing us with the Faults and Diſorders

they obſerv'd in our Towns, as being occaſion'd by Money. 'Tis in vain to remonſtrate to them how uſeful the Diſtinction of Property is for the ſupport of a Society: They make a Jeſt of what's to be ſaid on that Head. In fine, they neither Quarrel nor Fight, nor Slander one another. They ſcoff at Arts and Sciences, and laugh at the difference of Degrees which is obſerv'd with us. They brand us for Slaves, and call us miſerable Souls, whoſe Life is not worth having, alledging, That we degrade our ſelves in ſubjecting our ſelves to one Man who poſſeſſes the whole Power, and is bound by no Law but his own Will; That we have continual Jars among our ſelves; that our Children rebel againſt their Parents; that we Impriſon one another, and publickly promote our own Deſtruction. Beſides, they value themſelves above any thing that you can imagine, and this is the reaſon they always give for't, *That one's as much Maſter as another, and ſince Men are all made of the ſame Clay there ſhould be no Diſtinction or Superiority among them.* They pretend that their contented way of Living far ſurpaſſes our Riches; That all our Siences are not ſo valuable as the Art of leading a peaceful calm Life; [9] That a Man is not a Man with us any farther than Riches will make him; but among them the true Qualifications of a Man are, to run well, to hunt, to bend the Bow and manage the Fuzee, to work a Cannoo, to underſtand War, to know Forreſts, to ſubſiſt upon a little, to build Cottages, to fell Trees, and to be able to travel an hundred Leagues in a Wood without any Guide, or other Proviſion than his Bow and Arrows. They ſay, we are great Cheats in ſelling them

bad Wares four times dearer than they are worth, by way of Exchange for their Beaver-skins: That our Fuzees are continually burſting and laming them, after they have paid ſufficient Prices for them. I wiſh I had time to recount the innumerable Abſurdities they are guilty of relating to our Cuſtoms, but to be particular upon that Head would be a Work of Ten or Twelve Days.

Their Victuals are either Boild or roaſted, and they lap great quantities of the Broath, both of Meat and of Fiſh: They cannot bear the taſte of Salt or Spices, and wonder that we are able to live ſo long as thirty Years, conſidering our Wines, our Spices, and our Immoderate Uſe of Women. They dine generally Forty or Fifty in a Company, and ſomtimes above Three Hundred: Two Hours before they begin they employ themſelves in Dancing, and each Man ſings his Exploits, and thoſe of his Anceſtors; they dance but one at a time, while the reſt are ſet on the Ground, and mark the Cadence with an odd Tone, *He, He, He, He;* after which every one riſes and dances in his turn.

The Warriers attempt nothing without the Advice of the Council, which is compoſed of the Old Men of the Nation; that is to ſay, ſuch as are above Sixty: Before they are aſſembled a [10] Cryer gives notice of it through all the Streets in the Village: Then theſe old Old Men run to a certain Cottage deſign'd for that purpoſe, where they ſeat themſelves in a Square Figure; and after they have weigh'd what is propos'd for the benefit of the Nation, the Speaker goes out of the Cottage, and the Young Men get about him, and liſten

with great attention to the Reſolves of the Old ones, crying out at the end of every Sentence *That's Good.*[1]

They have ſeveral ſorts of Dances. The principal is that of the *Calumet;* the reſt are the Chiefs or Commanders Dance, the Warriers Dance, the Marriage Dance, and the Dance of the Sacrifice. They differ from one another both in the Cadence and in the Leaps; but 'tis impoſſible to deſcribe them, for that they have ſo little reſemblance to ours. That of the *Calumet* is the moſt grave and handſome; but they don't perform that but upon certain Occaſions, *viz.* When Strangers paſs through their Country, or when their Enemies ſend Ambaſſadors to treat of a Peace. If they approach to a Village by Land, when they're ready to enter, they depute one of this Number, who advances, and proclaims, that he brings the *Calumet of Peace;* the reſt ſtopping in the mean time, till he calls to them to come: Then ſome of the Young Men march out of the

All theſe Dances may be compared to Minerva's Pyrrhiche. *For while the Savages dance with a Singular Gravity, they humour the Cadences of certain Songs, which* Achilles's *Malitia called* Hyperchematica. *I am at a loſs to inform you whether the Savages had theſe Songs from the* Grecians, *or the* Grecians *from the Savages.*[2]

[1] The council is the most important institution of tribal life, and of indigenous growth. For a good description of forms of procedure, and the ceremonies connected therewith, see *Jes. Rel.*, x, pp. 251–263. — Ed.

[2] It is needless to say that there was no historical connection between Greek and North American dances and their accompanying songs, save as the development in these lines has a certain similarity among all primitive peoples. The pyrricha was a war dance of Doric origin, performed by men in armor; while the hyporcheme (hyperchematica), allied to the pæan, was one variety of the song or cadence that accompanied the early Greek dances. — Ed.

Village, at the Gate of which they form an Oval Figure, and when the Strangers are come up to them, they dance all at a time, forming a Second Oval round him that bears the *Calumet:* This [11] Dance continues half an Hour. Then they receive the Travellers with ſome Ceremony, and conduct them to a Feaſt. The Ceremonies are the ſame to thoſe that come by Water, with this difference, that they ſend a Canoo to the Foot of the Village, with the *Calumet of Peace*, upon its Prow, in the ſhape of a Maſt, and one comes from the Village to meet 'em.[1] The Dance of War is done in a Circle, during which the Savages are ſeated on the Ground. He that dances moves from the Right Hand to the Left, ſinging in the mean time the Exploits of himſelf and his Anceſtors. At the end of every Memorable Action, he gives a great Stroke with a Club upon a Stake plac'd in the middle of the Circle, near certain Players, who beat Time upon a ſort of a Kettle-Drum; Every one riſes in his turn to ſing his Song: And this is commonly practis'd when they go to War, or are come from it.

The greateſt Paſſion of the Savages conſiſts in the Implacable Hatred they bear to their Enemies; that is, all Nations with whom they are at Open War: They value themſelves mightily upon their Valour; inſomuch that they have ſcarce any regard to any thing elſe. One may ſay, That they are wholly govern'd by Temperament, and their Society is perfect Mechaniſm. They have neither Laws, Judges, nor Prieſts; they are naturally inclin'd to Gravity, which makes them very

[1] The classic description of the calumet dance is that of Marquette; see *Jes. Rel.*, lix, pp. 129–137. — Ed.

circumſpect in their Words and Actions. They obſerve a certain Medium between Gayety and Melancholy. The *French* Air they could not away with; and there was none but the younger ſort of them that approv'd of our Faſhions.

I have ſeen Savages when they've come a great way, make no other Compliment to the Family than, *I am arriv'd, I wiſh all of you a great deal of* [12] *Honour.* Then they take their Pipe quietly without asking any Queſtions: When that's done, they'l ſay, *Heark'e Friend, I am come from ſuch a Place, I ſaw ſuch a thing, &c.* When you ask a Queſtion, their Anſwer is exceeding conciſe, unleſs they are Members of the Council; otherwiſe you'll hear 'em ſay, *That's Good; That ſignifies nought; That's admirable; That has Reaſon in it; That's valiant.*

If you tell a Father of a Family that his Children have ſignaliz'd themſelves againſt the Enemy, and have took ſeveral Slaves, his Anſwer is ſhort, *That's Good*, without any farther Enquiry. If you tell him his Children are ſlain, he'll ſay immediately, *That ſignifies nought*, without asking how it happen'd? When a Jeſuit preaches to them the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, the Prophecies, Miracles, *&c.* they return you, a *That's wonderful*, and no more. When the *French* tell them of the Laws of a Kingdom; the Juſtice, Manners and Cuſtoms of the *Europeans*, they'll repeat you a hundred times, *That's reaſonable.* If you diſcourſe them upon an Enterpriſe of great importance, or that's difficult to execute, or which requires much thought, they'll ſay, *That's Valiant*, without explaining themſelves, and will liſten to the

end of your Diſcourſe with great attention: Yet 'tis to be obſerved, when they're with their Friends in private, they'll argue with as much boldneſs as thoſe of the Council. 'Tis very ſtrange, that having no advantage of Education, but being directed only by the Pure Light of Nature, they ſhould be able to furniſh Matter for a Conference which often laſts above three Hours, and which turns upon all manner of Things; and ſhould acquit themſelves of it ſo well, that I never repented the time I ſpent with theſe truly Natural Philoſophers.

[13] When a Viſit is paid to a Savage, at going in you muſt ſay, *I am come to ſee ſuch an one:* Then Fathers, Mothers, Wives, Children go out, or withdraw themſelves to an Apartment at one end of the Cottage, and be who you will, come not near you to interrupt your Converſation. The Faſhion is for him that is viſited, to offer you to eat, drink and ſmoak; and one may uſe an entire freedom with them, for they don't much mind Compliments. If one means to viſit a Woman, the Ceremony's the ſame; *I am come to ſee ſuch an one;* then every Body withdraws, and you tarry alone with her you come to ſee; but you muſt not mention any thing Amorous in the Day time, as I ſhall inform you elſe where.

Nothing ſurpriz'd me more than to obſerve the Quarrels between their Children at play: A little after they are warm'd, they'll tell one another, *You have no Soul, You're wicked, You're treacherous:* In the mean time their Companions who make a Ring about them, hear all quietly, without taking one ſide or t'other till they fall to play again: If by chance they come to

Blows, the reſt divide themſelves into two Companies, and carry the Quarrellers home.

They are as ignorant of *Geography* as of other *Sciences*, and yet they draw the moſt exact Maps imaginable of the Countries they're acquainted with, for there's nothing wanting in them but the Longitude and Latitude of Places: They ſet down the True *North* according to the *Pole Star;* The Ports, Harbours, Rivers, Creeks and Coaſts, of the Lakes; the Roads, Mountains, Woods, Marſhes, Meadows, *&c.* counting the diſtances by Journeys and Half-journeys of the Warriers, and allowing to every Journey Five Leagues. Theſe *Chorographical Maps* are drawn upon the Rind of your *Birch Tree;* and when the Old Men hold a Council [14] about War or Hunting, they're always ſure to conſult them.[1]

The Year of the *Outaouas*, the *Outagamis*, the *Hurons*, the *Sauteurs*, the *Ilinois*, the *Oumamis*, and ſeveral other Savages, conſiſts of Twelve-Synodical Lunar-Months, with this difference, when Thirty Moons are ſpent, they add one ſupernumerary Month to make it up, which they call the *Loſt Moon*, and from thence begin their Account again, after the former Method. All theſe Months have very ſuitable Names; for Inſtance; What we name *March*, they call the *Worm-Moon*, for then the Worms quit the Hollow Chops of the Trees where they ſhelter'd themſelves in the Winter. *April* is call'd *the Month of Plants; May* of *Flowers* and ſo of the others. I

[1] For a reproduction of an Indian map drawn by the savage Ochagach see Thwaites, *Rocky Mountain Exploration* (New York, 1904), p. 28. Several others are in the atlas (vol. viii) to *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York, 1904). — Ed.

ſay, at the end of theſe Thirty Months, the next that follows is ſupernumerary, and not counted; for Example; We'll ſuppoſe the Month of *March* to be the Thirtieth Lunar-Month, and conſequently, the Laſt of the *Epocha*. Next that ſhould be counted the Month of *April;* whereas the *Loſt Moon* takes place of it, and muſt be over before they begin their Account again; and this Month with the others, makes about a Year and an half. Becauſe they have no Weeks, they reckon from the Firſt till the Twenty Sixth of theſe ſort of Months, and that contains juſt that ſpace of time which is between the firſt appearance of the Moon at Night, till having finiſh'd its Courſe, it becomes almoſt inviſible in the Morning; and this they call the Illumination-Month. For Inſtance; A Savage will ſay, *I went away the firſt of the Month of Sturgeons* (that's *Auguſt*), *and returned the Twenty-ninth of the Month of* Indian-Corn (the ſame with our *September); and next day*, (which is the laſt) *I reſted my ſelf*. As for the remaining three Days and a half of the *Dead-Moon*, during which 'tis [15] impoſſible to be diſcern'd, they give them the Name of the *Naked Days*. They make as little uſe of Hours as Weeks, having never got the way of making Clocks or Watches; by the help of which little Inſtruments, they might divide the Natural Day into equal parts.[1] For this Reaſon, They are forc'd to reckon the Natural Day as well as the Night, by Quarters, Half, and Three-quarters, the Riſing and the Setting-Sun, the

[1] This is a good account of the calendar of the primitive Indians, usually composed of thirteen lunar months. The aborigines of Central America, Mayas and Aztecs, had a more elaborate system. See Thomas, "Maya Calendar," in U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, *Bulletin* No. 18. — Ed.

Fore-noon and the Evening. As they have a wonderful Idea of any thing that depends upon the Attention of the Mind, and attain to an Exact Knowledge of many Things by Long Experience: To croſs a Foreſt (for Inſtance) of a Hundred Leagues in a ſtrait Line, without ſtraying either to the Right or Left; to follow the Tract of a Man or Beaſt upon the Graſs or Leaves: So they know the Hour of the Day and Night exactly, even when it is ſo cloudy, that neither Sun nor Stars appear. I impute this Talent to a ſteddy command of Mind, which is not natural to any but thoſe whoſe Thoughts are as little diſtracted as theſe Mens are.

They are more ſurpriz'd to ſee ſome little Problemes of *Geometry* put in Practice, than we would be to ſee Water turn'd into Wine. They took my *Graphometer* for ſomewhat Divine, being unable to gueſs how we could know the diſtance of Places without meaſuring them by Cords or Rods, without there were ſome Supernatural Aſſiſtance. *Longimetry* pleas'd them far more than *Altimetry*, becauſe they thought it more neceſſary to know the breadth of a River, than height of a Tree, *&c.* I remember one Day in a Village of the *Outaouas* at *Miſſilimakinac* a Slave brought into the Cottage where I was, a ſort of Veſſel made of a thick piece of ſoft Wood, which he had borrowed on purpoſe, in which [16] he pretended to preſerve Mapletree-Water. All the Savages which ſaw this Veſſel, fell to arguing how much it would hold, and with that view call'd for a Pot, and for Water to determine the matter by Meaſuring. The humor took me to lay with them a Wager of a Treat, that I could tell the Quantity of

Water that would fill it better than they. So that finding by my Computation, that it held about 248 Pots, or thereabouts, I went to make the Tryal, and made them not a little wonder that it fail'd but one or two Pots; upon which I perſwaded them, that the Pots that were wanting were ſuck'd up by the new Wood.[1] But what was moſt pleaſant they were continually begging me to teach them *Stereometry*, that they might make uſe of it upon occaſion: 'Twas to no purpoſe to tell them 'twas impoſſible they ſhould underſtand it, tho' there were Reaſons for't that might convince any body but Savages. They preſs'd me ſo much to't that I could not be quiet till I was forc'd to tell them, that no body could do it to Perfection but the Jeſuits.

The Savages prefer your little Convex Glaſſes of two Inches Diemeter to any others, becauſe they give but a faint Repreſentation of the Pimples and Bloches upon their Faces. I remember that while I was at *Miſſilimakinac*, one of the Pedlers call'd *Coureurs de Bois*, brought a Convex Glaſs that was pretty large, and conſequently repreſented the Face with ſome Deformity. All the Savages that ſaw this Piece of Catoptricks, thought it no leſs Miraculous than the awaker of a Clock, or a Magical Lanthern, or the Spring of a Machine. But what was moſt Comical, there was among the reſt of the Spectators a *Huroneſe* Girl who told the Pedlar in a jocoſe way, That *if the Glaſs had the Vertue of Magnifying* [17] *the Objects really, as it did in appearance, all her ſhe Companions would give him in Exchange as many Beaver Skins as would make his Fortune.*

[1] The pot is a French liquid measure equal to 3.29 English pints. — Ed.


A Savage going a Shooting
Vol. 2.
A married Savage or an Old man walking in ye Village
A young Savage walking in the Village
P. 5
A Village of the Savages of Canada
A child hung upon the branch of a Tree
A Savage woman carrying her Child in her arms

The Savages have the moſt happy Memory in the World. They can carry their Memory ſo far back, that when our Governors or their Deputies treated with them about War, Peace or Trade, and propoſed things contrary to what was offer'd Thirty or Forty Years ago; They reply, That the *French* are falſe, and change their Opinion every Hour, that 'tis ſo many Years ſince they ſaid ſo and ſo; and to confirm it bring you the Porcelain *Colier* that was given them at that time. You remember I acquainted you in my Seventh Letter, that the *Coliers* are the Symbols of Contracts, without which they conclude no Buſineſs of Moment.[1]

They pay an infinite Deverence to Old Age. The Son that Laughs at his Father's Advice ſhall tremble before his Grandfather. In a Word, they take the Ancient Men for Oracles, and follow their Counſel accordingly. If a Man tell his Son 'tis time he ſhould Marry, or go to the War, or the Hunting, or Shooting! he ſhall anſwer careleſsly, *That's Valiant, I thought ſo.* But if his Grandfather tell him ſo, the Anſwer is, *That's good, It ſhall be done.* If by chance they kill a Partrige, a Gooſe, or Duck, or catch any delicate Fiſh, they never fail to preſent it to their oldeſt Relations.[2]

The Savages are wholly free from Care; they do nothing but Eat, Drink, Sleep, and ramble about in the Night when

[1] See p. 76, *ante*. — Ed.

[2] The evidence upon the deference paid by Indians to old age, is conflicting. The opinions of an elderly chief had especial weight in council; but on the other hand aged people, when infirm, were frequently abandoned or put to death as a useless burden. See *Jes. Rel.*, xx, p. 239; also *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, index. — Ed.

they are at their Villages. Having no ſet Hours for Meals, they Eat when they're hungry; and commonly do it in a large Company, Feaſting here and there by turns. The Women and Girls do the ſame among themſelves, and don't admit any Men into [18] their Company at that time. The Women Slaves are employed to Sow and Reap the *Indian-Corn;* and the Men Slaves have for their Buſineſs the Hunting and Shooting where there is any Fatigue, tho' their Maſters will very often help them. They have three ſorts of Games. Their Game of Counters is purely Numerical, and he that can Add, Subſtract, Multiply and Divide beſt by theſe Counters is the Winner. This depends purely upon the Mind. Another Game which is Hazard and Chance, is perform'd with eight little Stones, which are Black on one ſide and White on the other. They're put on a Plate which they lay on the Ground, throwing the little Stones up in the Air, and if they fall ſo as to turn up the Black ſide 'tis good luck. The odd number wins, and eight Whites or Blacks wins double, but that happens but ſeldom. They have a third Play with a Ball not unlike our Tennis, but the Balls are very large, and the Rackets reſemble ours, ſave that the Handle is at leaſt three Foot long. The Savages, who commonly play at it in large Companies of three or four Hundred at a time, fix two Sticks at five or ſix Hundred Paces diſtance from each other; They divide into two equal Parties, and toſs up the Ball about half way between the two Sticks. Each Party endeavour to toſs the Ball to their ſide; ſome run to the Ball, and the reſt keep at a little diſtance on both ſides to aſſiſt on

all Quarters. In fine this Game is ſo violent that they tear their Skins, and break their Legs very often in ſtriving to raiſe the Ball. All theſe Games are made only for Feaſts or other trifling Entertainments; for 'tis to be obſerv'd, that as they hate Money, ſo they never put it in the Ballance, and one may ſay, *Intereſt is never the occaſion of Debates among them.*[1]

[19] 'Tis not to be denied but the Savages are a very ſenſible People, and are perfectly well acquainted with the Intereſt of their Nations. They are great Moraliſts, eſpecially when they Criticiſe on the Manners of the *Europeans*, and are mightily upon their Guard in our Company, unleſs it be with ſuch as they are intimately acquainted with. In other Matters they are Incredulous and Obſtinate to the laſt degree, and are not able to diſtinguiſh between a Chimerical Suppoſition and an undoubted Truth, or between a fair and a falſe Conſequence, as you'l ſee in the inſuing Chapter, which treats of their Belief, and in which I aſſure you you'l meet with very odd Notions.

[1] Lahontan appears to intimate that the Indians do not gamble for gain; nevertheless, it is well-known that this is one of their strongest passions. The game of ball here described is that known as lacrosse, a modification of which is the present Canadian national game. For description see Thwaites (ed.), "J. Long's Voyages," in *Early Western Travels*, ii, pp. 89, 90. — Ed.

The Belief of the Savages, *and the Obſtacles of their Converſion.*

ALL the Savages are convinc'd that there muſt be a God, becauſe they ſee nothing among Material Beings that ſubſiſts neceſſarily and by its own Nature. They prove the Exiſtence of a Deity by the Frame of the Univerſe, which naturally leads us to a higher and Omnipotent Being, from whence it follows, ſay they, that Man was not made by chance, and that he's the Work of a Being ſuperior in Wiſdom and Knowledge, which they call the *Great Spirit*, or the *Maſter of Life*, and which they Adore in the moſt abſtracted and ſpiritual manner. They deliver their Thoughts of him thus, without any ſatisfactory Definition. The Exiſtence of God being inſeparable from his Eſſence, it contains every thing, it appears in every thing, acts in every thing, and gives motion [20] to every thing. In fine, all that you ſee, all that you can conceive, is this Divinity which ſubſiſts without Bounds or Limits, and without Body; and ought not to be repreſented under the Figure of an old Man, nor of any other thing, let it be never ſo fine or extenſive. For this Reaſon they Adore him in every thing they ſee. When they ſee any thing that's fine or curious, eſpecially when they look upon the Sun or Stars, they cry out, *O Great Spirit, we diſcern*

thee in every thing. And in like manner when they reflect upon the meaneſt Trifles they acknowledge a Creator under the Name of the *Great Spirit* or *Maſter of Life*.[1]

I forgot to tell you that the Savages liſten to all the Jeſuits Preach to them without the leaſt Contradiction. They content themſelves to rail among one another at the Sermons the Fathers make at Church, and if a *Savage* talks freely to a *French*-man he muſt be fully aſſur'd of his Diſcretion and Friendſhip. I have been frequently much puzzled to anſwer their impertinent Objections, (for they can make no others in relation to Religion) but I ſtill brought my ſelf off by entreating them to give Ear to the Jeſuits. To preſent you with a view of their Opinion relating to the Immortality of the Soul: They all believe it; but not upon the plea that 'tis one ſimple ſubſtance, and that the Deſtruction of any Natural Being is accompliſh'd by the ſeparation of its Parts; they're Strangers to that Argument. All they urge, is, that if the Soul were Mortal, all Men would be equally Happy in this Life; for God being all Perfection and Wiſdom, 'twould be inconſiſtent

[1] The religious beliefs and mythologic development of the North American Indian have been much discussed, and but little determined. The evidence of Lahontan is valuable because the Indians with whom he associated were but slightly changed by contact with the European missionaries, and because his own materialistic, skeptical bent of mind divested him of certain preconceptions, and rendered his observation more accurate. His account of the spiritism of the Algonquians corresponds with the latest scientific conclusions as to the mythologic stage attained by the aborigines — that it was neither monotheistic nor pantheistic, but recognized all manifestations of the unseen, yet without sense of personal unity. See Powell, "Mythology of North American Indians," in U. S. Bur. of Eth. *Report*, 1879–80, pp. 17–56; Brinton, *Myths of the New World* (3d ed., Phila., 1896); Dorman, *Origin of Primitive Superstitions among the Aborigines of America* (Phila., 1881). — Ed.

with his Nature to create ſome to be Happy and others to be Miſerable. So they prove the Immortality of the Soul by the Hardſhips of Life to which moſt Men are [21] expos'd, eſpecially the beſt of People, when they are Kill'd, Tortur'd, made Priſoners, *&c.* For they pretend, that by a Conduct ſomewhat ſtrange to our Apprehenſion, the Almighty orders a certain number of Creatures to ſuffer in this World, that they may be ſav'd in the next; and upon that ſcore they cannot endure to hear the *Chriſtians* ſay, Such a one has had the misfortune to be Kill'd, Wounded or made a Slave; and look upon what we call a Misfortune to be only ſuch in Fancy and *Idea*, ſince nothing comes to paſs but by the Decrees of that infinitely perfect Being, whoſe Conduct cannot be Fantaſtical or Capricious, as they falſely pretend we Chriſtians think it to be. On the contrary they think thoſe Perſons have very good Fortune who are Kill'd, Burnt or taken Priſoners. 'Tis the great unhappineſs of theſe Poor, Blind People, that they will not ſuffer themſelves to be inſtructed: For their Opinions are not in all reſpects contrary to the Light of the Goſpel. They believe that God for Reaſons above our reach makes uſe of the Sufferings of good People to diſplay his Juſtice; and in this Point we cannot oppoſe them, for 'tis one of the Principles of our own Religion: But when they alledge that we look upon the Divinity as a whimſical fantaſtick Being, are they not under the greateſt miſtake? The firſt and ſupreme cauſe muſt be ſuppos'd to make the wiſeſt choice of means conducing to an end. If then 'tis true, as 'tis a Point of our Belief, that God does permit the Sufferings of the Innocent, 'tis our part to

Adore his Wiſdom, and not be ſo arrogant as to Cenſure it. One of the Savages that argued the Point with me, alledg'd that we repreſented the Divinity like a Man that had but a little Arm of the Sea to croſs, and rather choſe to take a [22] turn of five or ſix Hundred Leagues about. This Quibble puzzled me a little: *For why*, ſays he, *ſince God can bring Men to Eternal Happineſs by rewarding Vertue and Merit, why does not he go that ſhorteſt way to Work? Why does he conduct a juſt Man to the Eternal Beatitude by the path of Sufferings?* Thus 'tis that theſe poor Savages contradict themſelves, and from hence it appears, that *Jeſus Chriſt*, our Lord and Maſter, is the only Author of ſuch Truths as ſupport themſelves, and contain not the leaſt ſhadow of Contradiction. In a Word, the ſingular madneſs of this unfortunate People conſiſts in denying their Aſſent to any thing but what's viſible and probable. This is the ſtanding and true Principle of their Religion, when you conſider it abſtractedly: But if you ask them in particular why they Adore God in the Sun, rather than in a Tree or a Mountain; their Anſwer is, That they chooſe to admire the Deity in publick by pointing to the moſt glorious thing that Nature affords.[1]

The Jeſuits uſe their utmoſt Efforts to make them ſenſible of the Importance of Salvation. They explain to them the Holy Scriptures, and ſet forth the manner by which the Law of *Chriſt Jeſus* took place in the World, and the change that it wrought. They lay before them the Prophecies, Revelations

[1] This is in accord with modern conclusions, that the North Americans did not worship the sun, save as a symbol. The fashion of a decade or more ago, to explain most myths as solar in origin, is not to-day held sufficient. — Ed.

and Miracles, by which our Religion is inforc'd. But the poor Wretches are ſuch obſtinate Infidels, that all the Characters of Truth, Sincerity and Divinity that ſhine throughout the Scriptures, have no impreſſion upon them. The greateſt length that the good Fathers can bring them to, is to acquieſce after a Savage manner, contrary to what they think. For Inſtance, when the Jeſuits Preach up the Incarnation of *Jeſus Chriſt*, they'l answer, *That's Wonderful:* When the Queſtion is [23] put to them, whether they'l turn Chriſtians, they reply, that *they'l conſider of it.* If the ſecular *Europeans* ſollicit them to come to Church to hear the Word of God, they reply, *'Tis reaſonable;* the meaning of which is, that they'l come; but at the bottom they have no other deſign in approaching to the place of Worſhip, than to ſnatch away a Pipe of Tobacco, or to Ridicule the good Fathers, as I intimated above: For they have ſuch happy Memories, that I knew ten of my own Acquaintance that had all the Holy Scriptures by Heart.

'Twill be worth your while to hear the thoughts of Reaſon that come from thoſe People who paſs for Beaſts among us. They maintain, That a Man ought never to ſtrip himſelf of the Privileges of Reaſon, that being the nobleſt Faculty with which God hath enrich'd him; and That foraſmuch as the Religion of the Chriſtians is not put to the teſt of their Reaſon, it cannot be but that God ridicul'd them in enjoyning them to conſult their Reaſon in order to diſtinguiſh Good from Evil. Upon this ſcore they affirm that Reaſon ought not to be controul'd by any Law, or put under a neceſſity of approving what it doth not comprehend; and in fine, that what we

call an Article of Faith is an intoxicating Potion to make Reaſon reel and ſtagger out of its way; forſomuch as the pretended Faith may ſupport Lies as well as the Truth, if we underſtand by it a readineſs to believe without diving to the bottom of things. They pretend that if they had a mind to talk in the Language of the Chriſtians, they might with equal right reject the Arguments propos'd by the Chriſtians againſt their Opinions, and plead that their Opinions are Incomprehenſible Myſteries, and that we muſt not pretend to fathom the Secrets [24] of the Almighty, which are plac'd ſo far above our weak reach.

'Tis in vain to remonſtrate to them, That Reaſon gives only a faint and dazzling Light which leades thoſe to a Precipice that truſt to its Direction and Conduct: That 'tis a ſlave to Faith and ought to obey it blindly without diſputing, juſt as an *Iroqueſe* Captive does his Maſter. 'Tis needleſs to repreſent to them, that the Holy Scriptures can contain nothing that's directly repugnant to right Reaſon. They make a jeſt of all ſuch Remonſtrances, for they imagine ſo great a Contradiction between the Scripture and Reaſon, that they think it impoſſible for the Advocates of the former to avoid the receiving of very dubious Opinions for certain and evident Truths. Their Prejudice proceeds from this, that they can't be convinc'd, that the Infallibility of the Scripture is to be made out by the Light of Reaſon. The Word *Faith* is enough to choak them; they make a Jeſt of it, and alledge that the Writings of paſt Ages are falſe, ſuppoſititious and alter'd, upon the Plea that the Hiſtories of our own times are juſtly liable to the

ſame Cenſure. They plead, That a Man muſt be a Fool who believes that an Omnipotent Being, continued from all Eternity, in a ſtate of Inactivity, and did not think of giving being to Creatures till within theſe five or ſix Thouſand Years; or that at that time God Created *Adam* on purpoſe to have him tempted by an evil Spirit to eat of an Apple, and that he occaſion'd all the Miſery of his Poſterity by the pretended tranſmiſſion of his Sin. They ridicule the Dialogue between *Eve* and the Serpent, alledging that we affront God in ſuppoſing that he wrought the Miracle of giving this Animal the uſe of Speech, with intent to deſtroy all the Humane Race.

[25] To continue their wild Remonſtrances they ſay, 'Tis 'a thing unheard of, that for the expiation of *Adam*'s Sin God 'ſhould put God to Death to ſatisfie himſelf; That the Peace 'of the World ſhould be brought about by the Incarnation 'of God and his ſhameful Death; That his Diſciples ſhould 'be ignorant Men that fear'd to dye. This, they ſay, is ſtill 'the more unaccountable, that the Sin of the firſt Father hath 'done more harm than the Death of the latter hath done 'good, the Apple having intail'd Death on all Men, whereas 'the Blood of *Jeſus* hath not ſav'd one half of them. They argue, 'That upon the Humanity of this God the Chriſtians 'build a Religion without a Foundation, which is ſubject to 'the Changes and Viciſſitudes of Humane Affairs. That this 'Religion being divided and ſubdivided into ſo many Sects, 'as thoſe of the *French*, the *Engliſh*, *&c.* it can be no other 'than an Human Artifice: For had God been the Author of 'it, his Providence had prevented ſuch diverſity of Sentiments

'by unambiguous Deciſions. That if the Evangelical Law 'had deſcended from Heaven it had not contain'd thoſe 'obſcure Sayings that give riſe to the Chriſtian Diſſenſions; 'for that God who foreſees what is in the Womb of Futurity 'would have deliver'd his Precepts in ſuch clear and preciſe 'terms as would leave no room for Diſputes.

'But ſuppoſing (continue they) that this Law deſcended 'from Heaven, which of the Chriſtian Sects muſt we join with? 'For we underſtand from an infinite number of Chriſtians, that 'in ſome Communions we run the riſque of Damnation.' The great Article that they ſtickle moſt at is the *Incarnation of God*. They exclaim againſt the ſuppoſition that the Divine [26] Word was ſhut up for nine Months in the Bowels of a Woman, and that the ſame God came to take up an Earthly Body in this World, and carry'd it up to his Seat of Bliſs. Nay, they carry the thing farther, for they rally upon the unevenneſs and inconſtancy of *Chriſt*'s Will. Tho' he came into the World to dye, ſay they, yet it appears that he had no mind to it, and that he was affraid to Die. If the Divinity and Humanity had made but one Perſon, he would not have needed to pray or ask for any thing; nay, ſuppoſing that his Divine Nature had not the Aſcendant within him, yet he ought not to have fear'd Death, in regard that the loſs of a Temporal Life is nothing to one that is aſſur'd of reviving for ever; he knew for certain where he was a going, and conſequently ought to have embrac'd Death more chearfully than we do, when we Poyſon our ſelves in order to accompany our Relations to the Country of Souls.

They brand St. *Paul* for a Phantaſtical Man, alledging that he contradicts himſelf every Foot, and Reaſons very ſorrily. They Ridicule the Credulity of the Primitive Chriſtians, whom they look upon as ſimple and ſuperſtitious Creatures; and upon that Head take occaſion to ſay, *That the Apoſtle* Paul *would have found a great deal of difficulty in perſwading the People of* Canada *that he was raviſh'd up to the third Heaven.* There's one place of Scripture above all other that they can't digeſt, *viz. Many are called, but few chosen.* Their Comment upon it is this, *God hath ſaid, that many are call'd but few choſen, and what God ſays muſt needs be true. Now, if of three Men only one be sav'd, and the other two damn'd, then the Condition of a Stag is preferable to that of a Man; Nay, put it upon an even lay, and let there be but one Man damn'd for one ſav'd, even then the Stag hath the better of* [27] *it.* This Objection was once put to me by the Rat, or the General of the Savages, when I was a Hunting with him. I reply'd, that we ought to indeavour to be in the number of the Choſen by following the Law and the Precepts of *Jeſus Chriſt.* But my Anſwer did not ſatisfie him, for he ſtill ran upon the great riſque of two Men damn'd for one ſav'd, and that by an immutable Decree. Upon that I refer'd him to the Jeſuits, for I durſt not tell him, That 'twas in his own Power to procure his Election: If I had, he had given me leſs Quarter than he did to St. *Paul;* for in Religious Matters they always ſtick to Probability. This General was not ſo void of good Senſe, but that he could think juſtly and make true Reflections upon Religious Matters; but he was ſo prepoſſeſs'd with an Opinion, that the Chriſtian Faith was

contrary to Reaſon, that all the Attempts I made could not convince him of the contrary. When I laid before him the Revelations of *Moſes* and the Prophets, the univerſal Conſent of almoſt all Nations in owning and acknowledging *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Martyrdom of his Diſciples and of the Primitive Chriſtians, the perpetual Succeſſion of our Sacred Oracles, the entire Deſtruction of the *Jewish* Republick, and the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* foretold by our Saviour; he ask'd me if my Father or my Grandfather had ſeen all theſe Events, and whether I was ſo credulous as to take our Scriptures for Truth, ſince the Hiſtories of Countries writ but t'other Day are found to be Fabulous. He added, That the *Faith* which the Jeſuits beat their Brains about imported no more than to be perſwaded of a thing either by ſeeing it with their Eyes, or by finding it recommended by clear and ſolid Proofs; That theſe Fathers and I were ſo far from convincing them of the truth of our [28] Myſteries, that we only cover'd their Thoughts with Obſcurity and Darkneſs.

Such, Sir, is the Obſtinacy and prepoſſeſſion of this People. I flatter my ſelf that this ſhort view of their Notions may divert you without Offence. I know that you are too well confirm'd and rivetted in our moſt Holy Faith, to receive any dangerous Impreſſion from their impious Advances. I aſſure my ſelf that you will joyn with me in bemoaning the deplorable ſtate of theſe ignorant Wretches. Let us jointly admire the depth of the Divine Providence, which permits thoſe Nations to entertain ſuch an Averſion to our Divine Truths; and in the mean time let us make the beſt uſe of the unde-

ſerv'd Advantage we have over them. Give me leave to acquaint you with the Reflections that theſe ſame Savages make upon our Conduct when they confine themſelves to the Subject of Morality. *The Chriſtians*, say they, *contemn the Precepts of the Son of God, they make a Jeſt of his Prohibitions, and doubt of the Sincerity of his Expreſſions; for they counteract his Orders without intermiſſion, and rob him of the Worſhip which he claims as his due, by paying it to Silver, to Beavers, and to their own Intereſt. They murmur againſt Heaven and him when things go croſs with them; they go about their uſual Buſineſs on ſuch Days as are ſet apart for Works of Piety and Devotion, and ſpend both that and the other parts of their time in Gaming, Drinking to exceſs, Fighting and Scolding. Inſtead of Comforting their Parents they leave them for a Sacrifice to Hunger and Miſery, and not only deride their Counſel, but wiſh impatiently for their Death. In the Night time, all of them, barring the Jeſuits, roll from Houſe to Houſe to debauch the Women Savages. They Murther one another every Day upon the Plea of Theft or Affronts, or upon the ſcore of Women; they Pillage and Rob one another without* [29] *any regard to the tyes of Blood or Friendſhip, as often as they meet with an opportunity of doing it with impunity. They beſpatter and defame one another with outragious Calumnies; and make no ſcruple to lye when they find 'twill ſerve their Intereſt. They are not ſatisfied with the Company of ſingle Women, but debauch other Mens Wives; and theſe Adulterous Women bring forth in the abſcence of their Husbands a ſpurious Off-ſpring, that are at a loſs to know their Fathers. In fine,* (continue they) *though the Chriſtians are ſo docile as to believe the Humanity of God, which is the moſt unrea-*

ſonable Article that can be; yet they ſeem to doubt of his Precepts, and inceſſantly tranſgreſs them, notwithſtanding they are very pure and reaſonable. I ſhould never come to an end, if I enter'd into the Particulars of their Savage way of Reaſoning; and for that reaſon 'twill be more proper to take leave of this Subject, and paſs directly to the manner of Worſhip which they offer to their great Spirit or God, call'd *Kitchi Manitou.* A view of that will be more agreeable than the tedious Series of this ſort of Philoſophy, which at the bottom is but too true, and affords matter of Grief to all good Souls that are perſwaded of the Truth of Chriſtianity.

The way of Worſhip, uſed by the Savages.

BEFORE we launch out into the particulars of their Worſhip, 'twill be proper to remark that the Savages give the name of *Genius* or *Spirit* to all that ſurpaſſes their Underſtanding, and proceeds from a cauſe that they cannot trace. Some of theſe Spirits they take to be Good, and ſome Bad; of the former ſort are the Spirit of [30] Dreams, the *Michibichi* mentioned in my liſt of Animals, a *Solar Quadrant*, an *Alarm Watch*, and an infinity of other things that ſeem to them to be inconceivable. Of the latter ſort are *Thunder*, *Hail falling upon their Corn*, a *great Storm*, and in a word every thing that tends to their Prejudice, and proceeds from a cauſe that they are ignorant of. If a *Fuſee* burſt either through the fault of the Metal, or by being over Loaded, and Maims a Man, they'll tell you there was an Evil Spirit lodg'd within it. If by chance the Branch of a Tree put out a Mans Eye, the effect is owing to an Evil Spirit; If a ſudden guſt of Wind ſurpriſes 'em in a *Canow* about the middle of their Paſſage acroſs the Lakes, 'tis an Evil Spirit that diſturbs the Air; if the dregs of any Violent Diſtemper robs a Man of his Reaſon, 'tis an Evil Spirit that Torments him. Theſe Evil Spirits they call *Matchi Manitous*, and *Gold* and *Silver* they liſt into that

number.[1] However, 'tis to be obſerv'd that they talk of theſe Spirits in a Bantering way, or much after the ſame manner that our ſhrewd *Europeans* rally upon *Magicians* and *Sorcerers*.

Here I cannot forbear to repeat once more that the Hiſtorical Accounts of *Canada*, are as ſcarce as the Geographical Maps of that Country; for I never met with a true one but once, and that in the hands of a *Quebec* Gentleman, the Impreſſion of which was afterwards Prohibited at *Paris*, but for what reaſon I know not. I mention this with regard to their opinion of the *Devil;* for it is alledg'd that the Savages are acquainted with the *Devil*. I have read a thouſand Ridiculous Stories Writ by our Clergymen, who maintain that the Savages have conferences with him, and not only conſult him, but pay him a ſort of Homage. Now all theſe advances are ridiculous; for in earneſt, the *Devil* never appear'd to theſe *Americans*. [31] I ask'd an infinity of Savages whether the *Devil* was ever ſeen among 'em in the ſhape of a Man or any other Animal; I likewiſe conſulted upon this head the ingenioſeſt of their Mountebanks or Jugglers, who are a very Comical ſort of Fellows (as you ſhall hear anon;) and it may be reaſonably preſum'd that if ever the *Devil* appear'd to 'em, they had been ſure to have told me of it. In fine, after uſing all poſſible means for a perfect knowledg of this matter; I concluded that theſe Eccleſiaſticks did not underſtand the true

[1] Brinton considers that the idea of dualism of spirits, so far as ethical qualities were concerned, was borrowed from Europeans; the Indians believed in benevolent and mischievous spirits, not because of a moral nature, but because of the effect upon their own lives. — Ed.

importance of that great word *Matchi Manitou*, (which ſignifies an *Evil Spirit*, *Matchi* being the word for *Evil* and *Manitou* for *Spirit;)* For by the *Devil* they underſtand ſuch things as are offenſive to 'em, which in our Language comes near to the ſignification of Misfortune, Fate, Unfavourable Deſtiny, *&c.* So that in ſpeaking of the *Devil* they do not mean that Evil Spirit that in *Europe* is repreſented under the figure of a Man, with a long Tail and great Horns and Claws.[1]

The Savages never Offer Sacrifices of Living Creatures to the *Kitchi Manitou;* for their common Sacrifices upon that occaſion are the Goods that they take from the *French* in exchange for *Beavers.* Several perſons of good Credit have inform'd me, that in one day they Burnt at *Miſſilimakinac*, Fifty Thouſand Crowns worth of ſuch Goods. I never ſaw ſo Expenſive a Ceremony, my ſelf: But let that be as it will, the particular circumſtances of the Sacrifice are theſe. The Air muſt be Clear and Serene, the Weather Fair and Calm; and then every one brings his Offering and laies it upon the Wood-Pile: When the Sun mounts higher the Children make a Ring round the Pile, with pieces of Bark Lighted, in order to ſet it on Fire; and the Warriours Dance and [32] Sing round 'em till the whole is Burnt and Conſumed, while the Old Men make their Harangues addreſs'd to the *Kitchi Man-*

[1] Lahontan's skeptical instincts revolted against the prevalent idea that all the gods of the savages were some manifestation of the devil — a conception that vitiates many of the recorded observations of Indian myths in the *Jesuit Relations*. On this subject see Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, pp. 75–82. The Moravian missionaries asserted that the aborigines "seem to have had no idea of the *Devil*, as the Prince of Darkness, before the Europeans came into the country;" — Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren* (London, 1794), i, p. 34. — Ed.

itou, and preſent him from time to time with Pipes of Tobacco Lighted at the Sun. Theſe Dances, Songs and Harangues laſt till Sun ſet, only they allow themſelves ſome intervals of Reſt, in which they ſit down and Smoak at their Eaſe.

It remains only (before I make an end of this *Chapter*) to repeat the very Words of their Harangues pronounc'd by the Old Fellows, and of the Songs ſung by the Warriors: 'Great Spirit, Maſter of our Lives; Great Spirit, Maſter of 'all Things both Viſible and Inviſible; Great Spirit, Maſter 'of other Spirits, whether good or Evil; command the Good 'Spirits to favour thy Children, the *Outaouas*, *&c.* Command 'the Evil Spirits to keep at a diſtance from 'em. O Great 'Spirit, keep up the Strength and Courage of our Warriors, 'that they may be able to ſtem the fury of our Enemies: Pre-'ſerve the Old Perſons, whoſe Bodies are not quite waſted, 'that they may give Counſel to the Young. Preſerve our 'Children, enlarge their Number, deliver 'em from Evil 'Spirits, to the end that in our old Age they may prove our 'Support and Comfort; preſerve our Harveſt and our Beaſts, 'if thou mean'ſt that we ſhould not die for Hunger: Take 'care of our Villages, and guard our Huntſmen in their Hunt-'ing Adventures. Deliver us from all Fatal Surprizes, when 'thou ceaſeſt to vouchſafe us the Light of the Sun, which 'ſpeaks thy Grandeur and Power. Acquaint us by the Spirit 'of Dreams, with what thy Pleaſure requires of us, or pro-'hibits us to do. When it pleaſes thee to put a Period to 'our Lives, ſend us to the great Countrey of Souls, where we 'may meet with thoſe of our Fathers, our Mothers, our

'Wives, [33] our Children, and our other Relations. O 'Great Spirit, Great Spirit, hear the Voice of the Nation, give 'ear to all thy Children, and remember them at all times.

As for the Songs which the Warriors ſing till Sun ſet, they are to this purpoſe: 'Take heart, the Great Spirit vouchſafes 'ſuch a Glorious Sun; Cheer up my Brethren: How great 'are his Works! How fine is the Day! this Great Spirit is 'all Goodneſs; 'tis he that ſets all the Springs in motion; 'he ruleth over all: He is pleas'd to hear us; Let us cheer up 'my Brethren, we ſhall ſubdue our Enemies: Our Fields ſhall 'bear Corn; our Hunting ſhall ſucceed well; we ſhall all of 'us keep our Health; the Old Perſons ſhall rejoice, the Chil-'dren ſhall increaſe, and the Nation ſhall proſper. But now 'the Great Spirit leaves us, his Sun withdraws, he has ſeen the '*Outaouas*, *&c.* 'Tis done, ay, 'tis done; the Great Spirit is 'ſatisfied; my Brethren let us pluck up a good heart.

We muſt remark, that the Women likewiſe make Addreſſes to him, and that commonly when the Sun riſes; upon which Occaſion they preſent and hold up their Children to that Luminary. When the Sun is almoſt down, the Warriors march out of the Village, to dance the Dance of the Great Spirit. But after all, there is no Day or Time fix'd for theſe Sacrifices, no more than for the Particular Dances.[1]

[1] The method and manner of sacrifice among the more barbarous North American Indians is a study strewn with difficulties. There are traces of human sacrifice among nearly all the tribes (see Dorman, *Primitive Superstitions*, pp. 208–213; *Jes. Rel.*, x, 159–167), but Lahontan is doubtless correct in asserting that it was not usual. Dogs were frequently sacrificed to the dead or departing spirits; but the more ordinary offerings were food and tobacco, and there does not appear to have been any fixed time for or form of sacrificial ceremonial. — ED.

[34] *An Account of the Amours and Marriages of the Savages.*

I COULD recount a thouſand Curious Things relating to the Courtſhip, and the way of Marrying among the Savages; but the Relation of ſo many Particulars, would be too tedious; for which Reaſon I ſhall only confine my ſelf to what is moſt eſſential to that Subject.

It may be juſtly ſaid, That the Men are as cold and indifferent as the Girls are paſſionate and warm. The former love nothing but War and Hunting, and their utmoſt Ambition reaches no farther. When they are at home, and have nothing to do, they run with the Match; that is, they are Night-walkers. The Young Men do not marry till they are Thirty Years of Age, for they pretend that the Enjoyment of Women does ſo enervate 'em, that they have not the ſame meaſur of Strength to undergo great Fatigues, and that their Hams are too weak for long Marches, or quick Purſuits: In purſuance of this Thought, 'tis alledged, That thoſe who have married, or ſtroled in the Nights too often, are taken by the *Iroqueſe*, by reaſon of the Weakneſs of their Limbs, and the decay of their Vigour. But after all, we muſt not imagine that they live chaſte till that Age; for they pretend that Exceſſive Continence occaſions Vapours, Diſorders of the Kidneys, and a

Suppreſſion of Urine; ſo that 'tis neceſſary for their Health to have a Run once a Week.

If the Savages were capable of being ſubjected to the Empire of Love, they muſt needs have an Extraordinary Command of themſelves to diſguiſe [35] the Juſt Jealouſie they might have of their Miſtreſſes, and at the ſame time to carry it fair with their Rivals. I know the Humour of the Savages better than a great many *French* People that have liv'd among 'em all their Life-time; for I ſtudy'd their Cuſtoms ſo narrowly and exactly, that all their Conduct of Life is as perfectly well known to me, as if I had been among 'em all my Life-time: And 'tis this Exact Knowledge that prompts me to ſay, That they are altogether Strangers to that Blind Fury which we call Love. They content themſelves with a Tender Friendſhip, that is not liable to all the Extravagancies that the Paſſion of Love raiſes in ſuch Breaſts as harbour it: In a word, they live with ſuch Tranquility, that one may call their Love Simple Goodwill, and their Diſcretion upon that Head is unimaginable. Their Friendſhip is firm, but free of Tranſport; for they are very careful in preſerving the Liberty and Freedom of their Heart, which they look upon as the moſt valuable Treaſure upon Earth: From whence I conclude that they are not altogether ſo ſavage as we are.

The Savages never quarrel among themſelves, neither do they reproach or affront one another; One man among them is as good as another, for all are upon the ſame Level. They have no Diſorders occaſion'd by a Girl or a Wife, for the Women are Wiſe, and ſo are their Husbands: The Girls

indeed are a little fooliſh, and the Young Men play the fool with them not unfrequently: But then you muſt conſider that a Young Woman is allow'd to do what ſhe pleaſes; let her Conduct be what it will, neither Father nor Mother, Brother nor Siſter can pretend to controul her. A Young Woman, ſay they, is Maſter of her own Body, and by her Natural Right of Liberty is free to do what ſhe pleaſes. But on the other [36] hand the Married Women being allow'd the Priviledge of quitting their Husbands when they pleaſe, had as good be dead as be guilty of Adultery. In like manner, the Husbands being entituled to the ſame Priviledge, would look upon themſelves as infamous, if they were faithleſs to their Wives.

Nothing of Intrigue or Courtſhip muſt be mention'd to the Savage Ladies in the Day time, for they will not hear it; they'll tell you the Night-time is the moſt proper ſeaſon for that; inſomuch that if a Youth ſhould by chance accoaſt a Girl in the Day-time, after this manner, *I love thee more than the Light of the Sun* (ſuch is their Phraſe) *liſten to what I say*, *&c.* ſhe would give him ſome Affront, and withdraw. This is a general Rule, that whoever deſigns to win the Affection of a Girl, muſt ſpeak to her in the Day-time, of things that lie remote from the Intrigues of Love. One may converſe with them privately as long as he will, and talk of a thouſand Adventures that happen every minute, upon which they make their Replies very pleaſantly; for you cannot imagine what a Gay and Jovial Temper they are of; they are very apt to laugh, and that with a very engaging Air. 'Tis at theſe Pri-

vate Interviews that the Savages ſmell out the Young Womens Thoughts; for though the Subject of their Diſcourſe is of an Indifferent Strain, yet they talk over nicer Subjects in the Language of their Eyes. After a Young Man has paid two or three Viſits to his Miſtreſs, and fancies that ſhe has look'd upon him with a favourable Eye, he takes the following Courſe to know the Truth of the Matter.

You muſt take notice, that foraſmuch as the Savages are Strangers to *Meum* and *Tuum*, to Superiority and Subordination; and live in a State of [37] Equality purſuant to the Principles of Nature; they are under no apprehenſion of Robbers or Secret Enemies, ſo that their Huts are open Night and Day. You muſt know farther, that Two Hours after Sun-ſet, the Old Superannuated Perſons, or the Slaves (who never lie in their Maſters Huts) take care to cover up the Fire before they go. 'Tis then that the Young Savage comes well wrapt up to his Miſtreſs's Hut, and lights a ſort of a Match at the Fire; after which he opens the Door of his Miſtreſſes Apartment, and makes up to her Bed: If ſhe blows out the Light, he lies down by her; but if ſhe pulls her Covering over her Face, he retires; that being a Sign that ſhe will not receive him. The Young Women drink the Juice of certain Roots, which prevents their Conception, or kills the Fruit of the Womb; for if a Girl proves with Child, ſhe'll never get a Husband. They'll ſuffer any body to ſit upon the Foot of their Bed, only to have a little Chat; and if another comes an hour after, that they like, they do not ſtand to grant him their laſt Favours. As to this Cuſtom, which indeed is ſingular,

the moſt ſenſible Savages gave this Reaſon for it, That they will not depend upon their Lovers, but remove all ground of Suſpicion both from the one and the other, that ſo they may act as they pleaſe.

The Savage Women like the *French* better than their own Countreymen, by reaſon that the former are more prodigal of their Vigour, and mind a Woman's Buſineſs more cloſely. In the mean time the Jeſuits uſe all Efforts to prevent their keeping Company with the *French:* They have Superannuated Fellows placed in all the Huts, who, like Faithful Spies, give an Account of all that they ſee or hear. The *French* who have the Misfortune to be diſcover'd, are publickly nam'd [38] in the Pulpit, complain'd of to the Biſhop and the Governor General, excommunicated, and treated as Tranſgreſſors of the Law: But after all the Artifices and Oppoſition of the Good Fathers, a great many Intrigues are carried on in the Villages, that they know nothing of. The Jeſuits never offer to check the Young Savages for keeping company with Girls; for if they offer'd to cenſure their Conduct, and uſe 'em with the ſame liberty as they do the *French*, they would tell 'em roundly, that they're ſorry the Fathers have a mind to their Miſtreſſes. This was the Anſwer that a Young *Huron* ſpoke aloud one day in the Church, when a Jeſuit addreſſing himſelf to him, was preaching down the Night-Rambles of the Savages with an Apoſtolical Freedom.

This People cannot conceive that the *Europeans*, who value themſelves upon their Senſe and Knowledge, ſhould be ſo blind and ſo ignorant as not to know that Marriage in their

way is a ſource of Trouble and Uneaſineſs. To be ingag'd for one's Life time, to them is matter of Wonder and Surpriſe. They look upon it as a monſtrous thing to be tied one to another without any hopes of being able to untie or break the Knot. In fine, in ſpite of all the Reaſons and Arguments that that Subject affords, they lay down this for a firm and unmoveable Truth, that we *Eropeans* are born in Slavery, and deſerve no other Condition than that of Servitude.

In our Country, their ſtate of Marriage would be juſtly look'd upon as a Criminal way of Converſation. A Savage (for Inſtance) that has ſignalis'd himſelf ſeveral times in the Field, and acquir'd the Reputation of a brave Warrior, hath a mind to Marry by the means of a Contract, or rather a Leaſe of Thirty Years, with the hopes of ſeeing in his old Age a Family deſcended [39] of himſelf, that ſhall provide for him. This Hero looks out for an agreeable Girle, and after he and ſhe have ſettled the matter, they reveal their Deſign to their Relations, who at the ſame time cannot oppoſe it, but are oblig'd to conſent, and to aſſiſt at the Ceremony. They meet together in the Hut of the ancienteſt Relation or Parent, where a Feaſt is prepar'd on a Day fix'd for that purpoſe. Upon ſuch Occaſions the Company is very numerous, and the Table is cover'd with all manner of Dainties in a very prodigal manner; and thoſe who aſſiſt at the Feſtival, Dance and Sing, and perform the other Diverſions of the Country. After the Feaſting and Merry-making is over, all the Relations of the Bridegroom retire, excepting four of the oldeſt, after which the Bride, accompany'd with four of her ancient-

eſt Female Relations, appears at one of the Doors of the Hut, and is receiv'd by the moſt decrepit Man of the Bridegroom's Company, who conducts her to the Bridegroom at a certain place, where the two Parties ſtand upright upon a fine Mat, holding a Rod between them, while the old Men pronounce ſome ſhort Harangues. In this Poſture do the two married Perſons Harangue one after another, and Dance together, ſinging all the while, and holding the Rod in their Hands, which they afterwards break into as many pieces as there are Witneſſes to the Ceremony, in order to be diſtributed among them. This done, the Bride is reconducted out of the Hut, where the young Women ſtay for her to accompany her to her Father's Apartment, and the Bridegroom or married Man is oblig'd to go there to find her when he has a mind to her Company, till ſuch time as ſhe brings forth a Child; then, indeed, ſhe conveys her Cloaths [40] to her Husbands Apartment, and continues with him till the Marriage is diſſolv'd.[1]

'Tis allowable both for the Man and the Woman to part when they pleaſe. Commonly they give one another eight Days Warning; ſometimes they offer Reaſons to juſtifie their Conduct, but for the moſt part the uſual Plea is, that they are ſick and out of order, and that Repoſe is more proper for them than the fatigue of a married Life. Then the little

[1] Lahontan's account of courtship, and the ceremony of marriage, is more extended than those of other early travellers; he does not, however, mention a prominent feature of the transaction, the presents given to the father of the bride, constituting a sort of wife-purchase. See *Jes. Rel.*, iii, p. 99; lxviii, pp. 141–145. Long and Grant, early English traders among the Chippewa, give interesting details of courtship and marriage in that tribe. See Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, ii, pp. 173–175; Masson, *Bourgeois*, ii, pp. 319–321. — Ed.

pieces of the Rod that were diſtributed among the Relations of the married Perſons, are brought into that Hut in which the Marriage was Solemniz'd, and burnt in their Preſence. You muſt obſerve that this Separation is accompliſh'd without any Diſpute or Quarrel. Both the Men and the Women thus unmarried may be marry'd again to whom they pleaſe: But commonly they lie bye three or ſix Months before they conſummate their ſecond Marriage. When this Separation happens the Children are divided equally between them, for the Children are the Treaſure of the Savages. If their number be odd the Woman hath the better half.

Though they are at their liberty to change, yet there are ſeveral Savages that live all their Life time with one Woman. I gave you to know above, that during the whole courſe of their married State they maintain an inviolable Fidelity to one another: But, which is yet more Edifying, as ſoon as the Woman is declar'd to be with Child, both ſhe and her Bedfellow abſtain from Enjoyment, and obſerve an exact courſe of Continence from thence to the thirtieth Day after her Childbirth. When a Woman is ready to lye in, ſhe withdraws to a certain Hut allotted for that uſe, being attended by her ſhe Slaves, who ſerve and aſſiſt her as far as they can. In [41] fine, the Female Sex in this Country deliver themſelves without the aſſiſtance of Midwives; for they bring forth their Children with a facility that the *European* Women can ſcarce have any Notion of, and they never lye in above two or three Days. They obſerve a ſort of Purification for thirty Days if the Child be a Boy, and for forty if it be a Girle, and till that

time is expir'd they do not return to their Husband's Apartment.

As ſoon as their Children come into the World they dip them in warm Water up to the Chin, after which they ſwathe them down upon little Boards or Planks ſtuffed with Cotton, where they lye upon their Backs, as I inſinuated under the Head of the *Habit, Houſes*, &c. *of the Savages.* They never make uſe of Nurſes unleſs it be when the Mothers are out of order, and they never wean their Children, but ſuckle them ſo long as they have Milk, with which indeed they are very plentifully provided.

The Women have no opportunity of Marriage after the Fiftieth Year of their Age; for the Men of the like Age alledge, that ſince they cannot then bear Children, 'twould be a piece of Folly to meddle with them; and the young Sparks affirm, that their wither'd Beauty has not force enough to Charm them, at a time when there is no ſcarcity of Buxſome young Girles. In this Diſtreſs, when the young Men will not uſe them as Miſtreſſes, and Men of riper Years refuſe them for Wives, if their Complexion be any thing Amorous, they are forc'd to adopt ſome Priſoner of War that is preſented them, in order to anſwer their preſſing Neceſſities.

When the Husband or Wife comes to dye, the Widowhood does not laſt above ſix Months; and if in that ſpace of time the Widow or Widower [42] dreams of their deceas'd Bedfellow, they Poyſon themſelves in cold Blood with all the Contentment imaginable; and at the ſame time ſing a ſort of tune that one may ſafely ſay proceeds from the Heart. But

if the ſurviving Party dreams but once of the Deceaſed, they ſay, that the Spirit of Dreams was not ſure that the dead Perſon was uneaſie in the Country of Souls, foraſmuch as he only paſs'd by without returning, and for that reaſon they think they are not oblig'd to go keep him Company.[1]

Theſe Savages are uncapable of Jealouſy; that is a Paſſion they know nothing of. They jeer the *Europeans* upon that head; and brand a man's diſtruſt of his Wife, for a piece of manifeſt Folly; as if, ſay they, we were not certain that 'tis impoſſible for ſo weak an Animal to be true to its promiſes. To purſue their fallacious way of arguing, they alledge that ſuſpicion is only a doubt, and that to doubt of what one ſees is an argument of Blindneſs and Folly; and in fine, that 'tis impoſſible, but that the conſtraint and perpetuity that attends our Marriages, or the bait of Gold and Silver, ſhould oblige a Woman when Cloy'd with one and the ſame Husband, to whet her Appetite in the Embraces of another Man. I am fully convinced that a Savage would chuſe rather to ſuffer Mutilation than to Embrace his Neighbours Wife. Nor is the Chaſtity of the ſhe Savages leſs nice, for I do not believe that in the ſpace of Fifty Years there has been one Inſtance among 'em of the Invaſion of another Man's Bed.[2] 'Tis true

[1] The influence of dreams is one of the most marked superstitions of the Indians. They are regarded as divine intimations, whose suggestions must be followed even to the extent of suicide and death. The influence of "medicine men" was largely perpetuated by means of this belief in dreams. See *post*. — Ed

[2] Among the Western Indians adultery was punished by mutilation, and even by death. Consult *Jes. Rel.*, xlv, p. 237; liv, p. 187; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 362, 375; Thwaites, *Hennepin's New Discovery*, pp. 482, 483. — Ed.

the *French*, being uncapable to diſtinguiſh between the Married and Unmarried Women, ſometimes make their Addreſs to the former, when they find them alone in the Woods, or when they walk out into the Fields; but upon such occaſions they always receive this Anſwer; [43] *The Fiend which is before mine Eyes hinders me to ſee thee.*

The Savages go always by the Mothers Name. To make this plain by an example: the Leader of the Nation of *Hurons*, who is called *Saſtaretſi*,[1] being Married to a Daughter of another *Huron* Family, by whom he has ſeveral Children, that General's Name is extinct at his Death, for that his Children aſſume the Name of the Mother. Now, it may be ask'd how the Name of *Saſtaretſi* has been kept up for the ſpace of Seven or Eight Hundred Years among that People, and is likely to continue to future Ages? But the Queſtion is eaſily Anſwered, if we conſider, that the Siſter of this *Saſtaretſi* being Married to another Savage, whom we ſhall call *Adario*, the Children Springing from that Marriage, will be called *Saſtaretſi* after the Mother, and not *Adario* after this Father. When I asked them the Reaſon of the Cuſtom, they replyed, that the Children having received their Soul from their Father, and their Body from their Mother, 'twas but

[1] The family of Sastaretsi were the hereditary chiefs of the nation of the Tobacco or Petun Hurons (see p. 54, note 2, *ante*). They belonged to the deer clan (or totem) of this tribe, and exercised their authority until 1794, when, at Wayne's battle of Fallen Timbers, this clan was almost annihilated. A chieftain of this name treated with the French in 1682 (*N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, p. 178); another died at Quebec in 1746, and by that means precipitated the Huron revolt under Chief Nicholas (see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii). The Sastaretsi were commonly faithful to the French alliance. — Ed.

reaſonable that the Maternial Name ſhould be perpetuated. I repreſented to them I do not know how often, that God alone was the only Creator of Souls, and that it was more reaſonable to derive the original of that Cuſtom from the certainty that they had of the Mother beyond that of the Father; but they poſſitively affirmed that this reaſon was abſurd, without offering any proof.[1]

When a Woman has loſt a Husband that leaves Brothers who are Batchelours, one of theſe Marries the Widow Six Months after his Death. The ſame is the Caſe with the Siſters of a Wife; for when a Married Woman Dies, commonly one of the Siſters ſupplies her place. But you muſt take notice that this Cuſtom is only obſerved by the Savages that pretend to be Wiſer than their [44] Neighbours. Some Savages continue Batchelours to their Dying day, and never appear either at Hunting or in Warlike Expeditions, as being either Lunatick or Sickly: But at the ſame time they are as much eſteem'd as the Braveſt and Haileſt Men in the Country, or at leaſt if they rally upon 'em, 'tis never done where they are preſent. Among the *Illineſe* there are ſeveral Hermaphrodites, who go in a Woman's Habit, but frequent the Company of both Sexes.[2] Theſe *Illineſe* are ſtrangely given to Sodomy, as well as the other Savages that live near the River *Miſſiſipi*.

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[1] This custom of naming children was used in support of the theory of mütterrecht as a basis of ancient family institutions. See Morgan, *Ancient Society* (New York, 1877); McLennan, *Patriarchal Theory* (London, 1885). — Ed.

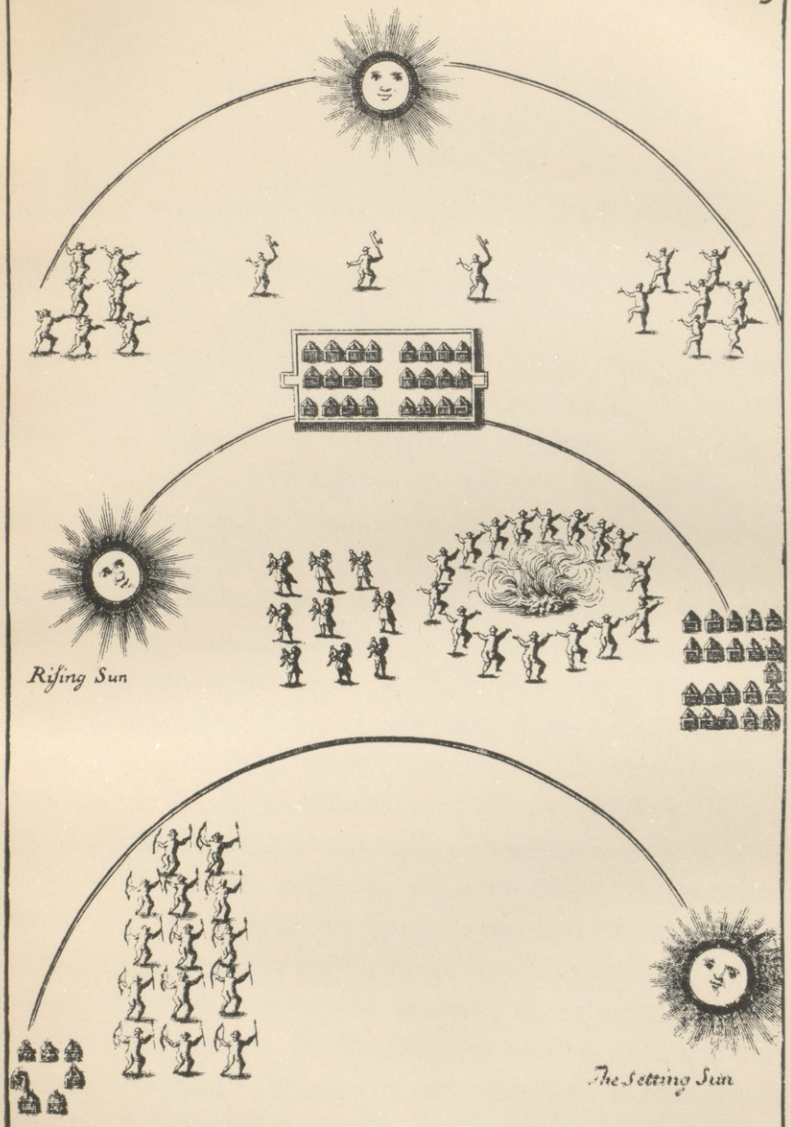
[2] See Marquette's description of the class called "berdashes," in *Jes. Rel.*, lix, pp. 129, 309, 310. — Ed.

This, Sir, is all that I could learn of the way of Marriage and the Amours of the *Americans;* who are ſo far from giving a full looſe to their Venerial Appetite, that they always act with a command over themſelves, being very moderate in their Adventures with Women, whom they make uſe of only for the Propagation of their Families and the Preſervation of their Health. Their Conduct upon this Head may ſerve for a juſt Reprimand to the *Europeans.*

I obſerv'd before, that if once a Girle proves with Child, ſhe never gets a Husband; but I ought to have added that ſome young Women will not hear of a Husband, through a principle of Debauchery. That ſort of Women are call'd *Ickoue ne Kiouſſa*, i. e. *Hunting Women:* for they commonly accompany the Huntſmen in their Diverſions. To juſtify their Conduct, they alledge that they find themſelves to be of too indifferent a temper to brook the Conjugal yoak, to be too careleſs for the bringing up of Children, and too impatient to bear the paſſing of the whole Winter in the Villages. Thus it is, that they cover and diſguiſe their Lewdneſs. Their Parents or Relations dare not cenſure their Vicious Conduct; on the contrary they ſeem to approve of it, in [45] declaring, as I ſaid before, that their Daughters have the command of their own Bodies and may diſpoſe of their Perſons as they think fit; they being at their liberty to do what they pleaſe. In ſhort, the Children of theſe Common Women are accounted a Lawful Iſſue, and intitled to all the Privileges of other Children; abateing for one thing, namely, that the noted Warriours or Counſellours will not accept of 'em for their

Sons in Law, and that they cannot enter into Alliance with certain Ancient Families; though at the ſame time theſe Families are not poſſeſſed of any peculiar Right or Prehem-inence. The *Jeſuits* do their utmoſt to prevent the Lewd Practices of theſe Whores, by Preaching to their Parents that their Indulgence is very diſagreeable to the Great Spirit, that they muſt anſwer before God for not confineing their Children to the meaſures of Continency and Chaſtity, and that a Fire is Kindled in the other World to Torment 'em for ever, unleſs they take more care to correct Vice.

To ſuch Remonſtrances the Men reply, *That's Admirable;* and the Women uſually tell the Good Fathers in a deriding way, *That if their Threats be well grounded, the Mountains of the other World muſt conſiſt of the Aſhes of ſouls.*


Rising Sun
The Setting Sun

A View of the Diſeaſes and Remedies of the Savages.

THE *Savages* are a robuſt and vigorous ſort of People, of a Sanguine Temperament, and an admirable Complexion. They are unacquainted with a great many Diſeaſes that afflict [46] the *Europeans*, ſuch as the *Gout*, *Gravel*, *Dropsy*, *&c.* Their Health is firm, notwithſtanding that they uſe no precaution to preſerve it; for on the contrary one would think that they weaken themſelves by the Violent Exerciſes of Dancing, Hunting, and Warlike-Expeditions, in which they have frequent returns of Heats and Colds in one day, which in *Europe* would occaſion a Mortal Diſtemper. Sometimes indeed they are ſeiz'd with *Pluriſies*, but theſe are as unfrequent as they are mortal; for this is the only Diſtemper that all their Remedies cannot conquer. The *Small-Pox* are as common in the *North of Canada*, as the *Great-Pox* are to the *Southward:* in the Winter time the *Small-Pox* is very dangerous, by reaſon of the difficulty of reſpiration; but notwithſtanding that 'tis mortal, the Savages matter it ſo little, that when 'tis upon 'em, they walk about from Hut to Hut, if they are able; or if they have not ſtrength to walk, are carried about by their Slaves. In the *Illineſe* Country, and near the *Miſſiſipi*, the *Venereal Diſtemper* is very common. I remember, that in the Interview I had with the *Akanſas* upon that great

River, at the Mouth of the *Miſſouris* (as I ſaid in my Sixteenth Letter) I ſaw a Savage, who uncovering himſelf, ſhew'd me part of his Body, that was ready to fall off, through Rottenneſs; at that time he was buſy'd in boiling Roots, and after I had ask'd him the uſe of 'em, he gave me to underſtand by his Interpreter, that he hop'd to be cur'd in a Months time, by drinking the Juice of theſe Roots, and eating conſtantly the Broth or Decoction of Meat and Fiſh.

Brandy makes a terrible havock among the People of *Canada*, for thoſe who drink it are much more numerous than thoſe who have the power to abſtain from it. That Liquor, which of it ſelf is murdering ſtuff, and which is brew'd and adulterated [47] before 'tis imported into this Countrey, ſweeps off men ſo faſt, that one who has not ſeen the fatal effects of it can ſcarce credit 'em: It extinguiſhes their Natural Heat, and throws almoſt all of 'em into that Languiſhing Diſorder, which we call a *Conſumption:* They look pale, livid and ghaſtly like Skeletons.[1] Their Feaſts are the bane and entire ruine of their Stomacks, as being nothing but plentiful Entertainments, at which they value themſelves upon leaving nothing.[2] They pretend, that by vertue of their drinking great quantities of Water and Broth, they digeſt their Victuals

[1] The ravages of the liquor habit among the aborigines of North America are well-known. The Indians do not drink for the taste of the liquor itself, but for the effect it produces — intoxication constituting a great enjoyment, for which they will sacrifice much. They do not hold anyone responsible for acts committed in that state — see vol. i, p. 124, *ante*. The early Jesuits opposed the brandy trade with the Indians, but were unable to secure its prohibition — see *ibid.*, p. 94. — Ed.

[2] The "eat-all" feasts were among the most marked and disgusting habits of the Indians. See Le Jeune's description in *Jes. Rel.*, vi, pp. 281–293. — Ed.

with greater Facility than the *Europeans*, who load their Stomacks with Wine and other Liquors, that produce Crudities.

The Savages are not at all alarm'd by Sickneſs, for they fear Death much leſs than the Pain and Duration of their Illneſs. When they are ſick, they only drink Broth, and eat ſparingly; and if they have the good luck to fall aſleep, they think themſelves cur'd: They have told me frequently, that ſleeping and ſweating would cure the moſt ſtubborn Diſeaſes in the World. When they are ſo weak that they cannot get out of Bed, their Relations come and dance and make merry before 'em, in order to divert 'em. To conclude, when they are ill, they are always viſited by a ſort of Quacks, *(Jongleurs);* of whom 'twill now be proper to ſubjoin two or three Words by the bye.

A *Jongleur* is a ſort of *Phyſician*, or rather a *Quack*, who being once cur'd of ſome dangerous Diſtemper, has the Preſumption and Folly to fancy that he is immortal, and poſſeſſed of the Power of curing all Diſeaſes, by ſpeaking to the Good and Evil Spirits. Now though every Body rallies upon theſe Fellows when they are abſent, and looks upon 'em as Fools that have loſt their Senſes by [48] ſome violent Diſtemper, yet they allow 'em to viſit the Sick; whether it be to divert 'em with their Idle Stories, or to have an Opportunity of ſeeing them rave, skip about, cry, houl, and make Grimaces and Wry Faces, as if they were poſſeſs'd. When all the Buſtle is over, they demand a Feaſt of a Stag and ſome large Trouts for the Company, who are thus regal'd at once with Diverſion and Good Cheer.

When the Quack comes to viſit the Patient, he examines

him very carefully; *If the Evil Spirit be here*, ſays he, *we ſhall quickly diſlodge him.* This ſaid, he withdraws by himſelf to a little Tent made on purpoſe, where he dances and ſings houling like an Owl; (which gives the Jeſuits Occaſion to ſay, *That the Devil converſes with 'em.)* After he has made an end of this Quack Jargon, he comes and rubs the Patient in ſome part of his Body, and pulling ſome little Bones out of his Mouth, acquaints the Patient, *That theſe very Bones came out of his Body; that he ought to pluck up a good heart, in regard that his Diſtemper is but a Trifle; and in fine, that in order to accelerate the Cure, 'twill be convenient to ſend his own and his Relations Slaves to ſhoot Elks, Deer,* &c. *to the end they may all eat of that ſort of Meat, upon which his Cure does abſolutely depend.*

Commonly theſe Quacks bring 'em ſome Juices of Plants, which are a ſort of Purges, and are called *Maskikik.* But the Patients chooſe to keep them by 'em rather than to drink them; for they think all Purgatives inflame the Maſs of the Blood, and weaken the Veins and Arteries by their violent Shocks. All their Cure conſiſts in ſweating well, in drinking Broth, in keeping themſelves very warm, in ſleeping if they can, and in drinking the Lake-water or Spring-water, in the Paroxyſms of *Fevers*, as well as in other Diſtempers.[1]

[1] There is a large literature on the subject of "medicine men" and their therapeutics. There appear to have been two classes of these practitioners: those of the rational school, who depended for their cures upon herbs, baths, etc.; and the mystics or conjurers, who sought by religious ceremonies to expel the unwelcome manitou from the patient. For observations of ethnological students, see *Jes. Rel.*, index; Masson, *Bourgeois*, ii, p. 259–265, 363; Hoffman, "Midewinin of the Ojibwa," in U. S. Bur. of Eth. *Report*, 1885–86; Bourke, "Medicine Men of the Apache," *ibid*, 1887–88; also Brinton, *Myths*, pp. 304–328. — Ed.

[49] They cannot conceive how we come to be ſuch Fools as to make uſe of Vomits; for when ever they ſee a *French*-man take down ſuch a violent Remedy, they cannot forbear ſaying that he ſwallows an *Iroqueſe*. They plead, that this ſort of Remedy ſhakes the whole Machine, and makes terrible Efforts upon all the inward Parts. But they are yet more aſtoniſh'd at our cuſtom of Bleeding; *For*, ſay they, *the Blood being the Taper of Life, we have more occaſion to pour it in than to take out, conſidering that Life ſinks when its Principal Cauſe is mov'd off; from whence 'tis a Natural Conſequence, that after loſs of Blood Nature acts but feebly and heavily, the Intrails are over-heated, and all the Parts are dry'd, which gives riſe to all the Diſeaſes that afflict the* Europeans.

The Savages are never eight Days together without Sweating, whether they be well or bad; only they obſerve this difference, that when they are perfectly well they throw themſelves while the ſweating moiſture is yet upon them, into the River in Summer, and into the Snow in Winter; whereas when they are out of order they go immediately into a warm Bed. Five or ſix Savages may ſweat conveniently in the place allotted for that uſe, which is a ſort of Oven or Stove cover'd with Mats, Skins, *&c.* In the middle of this Bagnio there ſtands a Diſh or Porringer full of burning Brandy, or of great red hot Stones, which occaſions ſuch a piercing heat, that in the twinkling of an Eye they ſweat prodigiouſly.[1] They never

[1] The sweat houses of the Indians are familiar to all students of aboriginal life; they were used both in sickness and in health. For a good description see *Jes. Rel.*, vi, pp. 189, 191; xxxviii, pp. 253, 255.—Ed.

make uſe of hot Baths and Glyſters, unleſs it be when they are over perſwaded by the Jeſuits and our Phyſicians.

I remember, that in a Conference I had one Day with a Savage, the Barbarian ſaid with a great deal of Senſe, *That a good Air, good Water, and Contentment of Mind could not indeed keep a* [50] *Man's Life from coming to an end, but that at leaſt it muſt be own'd, that theſe Advantages contribute in a great meaſure to make a Man run through the courſe of his Life without being ſenſible of any Diſorder or Inconveniecy.* They make a Jeſt of the Impatience of the *Europeans*, who would be cur'd as ſoon as they are ſick. They alledge that our fear of Death, occaſion'd by the invaſion of the leaſt Feaver, does ſo inflame and fortifie the Diſeaſe, that oftentimes we fall a Sacrifice to Fear it ſelf; whereas if we look'd upon our Illneſs as a Triffle as well as Death, and kept our Bed with Patience and a good Heart, without offering Violence to Nature, by cramming down Drugs and Medicines, the good old Dame would not fail to Comfort and Refreſh us by degrees.

The Savages are always againſt the making uſe of our Surgeons and Phyſicians. They affirm, that all mixtures of Drugs are Poyſon that deſtroys Natural Heat, and conſumes the Breaſt; and that Glyſters are only proper for the *Europeans*, though after all they ſometimes make uſe of them, when the *French* reſort to their Villages. They are of the Opinion, that the obſerving of a Diet heats the Blood, and that 'tis of dangerous Conſequence to baulk the Appetite as to what it craves, provided the Aliment hath a good Juice. The Meat that they eat is little more than half done; but

their Fiſh is always over boyl'd. They never touch Sallade, upon the Plea that all cold Herbs oblige the Stomach to hard labour.

There's no Wound or Diſlocation that they cannot cure with the Simples or Plants, whoſe Vertues they are well acquainted with; and, which indeed is ſingular, their Wounds never run to a Gangrene. But after all, this is not to [51] be imputed to theſe Herbs, nor to the Air of the Country, but to their hail Conſtitution; for notwithſtanding the uſe of theſe very Remedies a Gangrene invades the Wounds of the *French*, who queſtionleſs are harder to cure than the Savages. This People attribute our liableneſs to Gangrenes, and indeed all our Diſeaſes, to the Salt that we eat; for they cannot taſte any ſalt thing without being ſick unto Death, and drinking perpetually. They cannot be perſwaded to drink Ice-water, for they alledge that it infeebles the Stomach, and retards Digeſtion. Such, Sir, are their fantaſtical Opinions of things, which proceed from their Prepoſſeſſion and Bigotry with reference to their own Cuſtoms and ways of Living. 'Tis in vain to viſit them when they lie at the point of Death, in order to preſs them to Bleed or take a Purge; for they ſtill make anſwer, that they cannot conſent to the forwarding of their Death by the Remedies of the *French*, which they take to be as bad as the Perſons who exhibit them.

As ſoon as a Savage dies he is dreſt as neatly as can be, and his Relations Slaves come and mourn over him; neither Mother, Siſter nor Brother ſhews the leaſt mark of Affliction; they ſay, Their deceas'd Friend is happy in being thus ex-

empted from farther Sufferings; for this good People believe, and not without Reaſon, that Death is a paſſage to a better Life.[1] When the Corps are dreſt they ſet them upon a Mat in the ſame Poſture as if the Perſon were alive; and his Relations being ſet round him, every one in his turn addreſſes him with a Harangue, recounting all his Exploits as well as thoſe of his Anceſtors. He that ſpeaks laſt expreſſes himſelf to this purpoſe. 'You ſuch a one, you ſit now along with us, and 'have the ſame Shapes that [52] we have; you want neither 'Arms, nor Head, nor Legs. But at the ſame time you ceaſe 'to be, and begin to evaporate like the ſmoke of a Pipe. 'Who is it that talk'd with us but two Days ago? Sure! 'twas not you; for then you would ſpeak to us ſtill. It muſt 'therefore be your Soul which is now lodg'd in the great 'Country of Souls along with thoſe of our Nation. This 'Body which we now behold will in ſix Months time become 'what it was two Hundred Years ago. Thou feeleſt nothing, 'thou knoweſt nothing, and thou ſeeſt nothing, becauſe thou 'art nothing. Nevertheleſs out of the Friendſhip we had for 'thy Body while animated by thy Spirit, we thus tender the 'Marks of that Veneration which is due to our Brethren and 'our Friends.

After they have made an end of their Harangues the Male Relations remove to make room for the ſhe Friends, who

[1] All tribes of North American Indians appear to have entertained some form of belief in the future life. See Brinton, *Myths*, pp. 271–278. The Jesuits describe the mourning and wailing consequent upon death, but assert that it is largely customary rather than the expression of grief. They likewise mention the funeral orations. See Le Jeune, in *Jes. Rel.*, x, pp. 265–277. — Ed.

make him the like Compliment. This done, they ſhut the Corps up twenty four Hours in the Hut for the Dead, and during that time are imploy'd in Dances and Feaſts, which are far from bearing a mournful ſhew. After the twenty four Hours are expir'd the Slaves of the deceas'd Perſon carry his Corps upon their Backs to the Burying-place, where it is laid upon Stakes that are ten Foot high, in a double Coffin of Bark, with his Arms and ſome Pipes with Tobaco and *Indian* Corn put up in the ſame Coffin. When the Slaves are carrying the Corps to the Burying-place, the Male and Female Relations accompany them, Dancing all the while; and the reſt of the Slaves of the deceas'd Perſon carry ſome Baggage, which the Relations preſent to the dead Perſon and lay upon his Coffin. The Savages that live upon the long River burn their Corps, as I inſinuated before; [53] but you muſt know that they keep them in Vaults or Cellars till they have a ſufficient number to burn together, which is perform'd out of the Village, in a place ſet a part for that Ceremony.[1] In fine, the Savages know no ſuch thing as Mourning, and never mention the Dead in particular; I mean, they never repeat their Names.[2] They deride us when they hear us recount the Fate of our Parents, our Kings, our Generals, *&c.*

[1] Cremation was seldom practiced by the barbarous nations of the North, but was customary in Central America and among certain California tribes. The scaffolds built for corpses were but temporary resting places; among perhaps most of the wandering tribes the body was taken down at the close of the hunt or raid, when the tribesmen next passed that way, and interred at the village of the deceased; among the Hurons, at the end of a period of from eight to twelve years, all bones were collected and interred. *Jes. Rel.*, i, p. 267. — Ed.

[2] This singular custom of avoiding mention of the name of the dead is frequently

Upon the Death of a Savage his Slaves marry the other Women Slaves, and live by themſelves in a diſtinct Hut, as being then free, or ſuch as have no Maſter to ſerve. The Children that ſpring from this ſort of Marriages, are adopted and reputed the Children of the Nation, by reaſon of their being born in the Village and in the Country. *There's no reaſon*, ſay they, *that ſuch Children ſhould bear the Misfortunes of their Parents, or come into the World in Slavery, ſince they contributed nothing towards their Creation.* Theſe Slaves take care to go every Day to the foot of their Maſter's Coffin, and there offer ſome Pipes and Tobaco, as a grateful acknowledgment of their Liberty. But now that I am got upon the Subject of Tobaco, I muſt acquaint you that almoſt all the Savages ſmoak, but they never chew Tobaco, nor take it in Snuff. They ſow and reap a great deal of it, but then it differs from what we have in *Europe*, though our firſt Seed came from *America;* and in regard that 'tis in a manner good for nothing, they are forc'd to buy up *Braſil* Tobaco, which they mix with a certain Leaf of an agreeable Smell, call'd *Sagakomi*.[1]

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mentioned by the Jesuits. For great men, the custom of resuscitation was practiced, whereby one was appointed to take upon himself the name and responsibilities of the deceased. *Jes. Rel.*, i, p. 267; xvii, p. 242. — Ed.

[1] Sagakomi (sacacommis) is the bear berry (*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*), one of the ingredients of Indian tobacco or kinnikinnik. The Spanish called it manzanita. Lewis and Clark say that this word is derived from the habit of the clerks (commis) of the North West Company who carried this berry in a bag (sac) for smoking; — see Thwaites, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, iv, pp. 13, 21, 22; but Coues, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest* (New York, 1897), p. 581, shrewdly conjectures that the form sacacommis was a pun upon a native word — as is here proven. Brazil tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*) is stronger than the northern species (*N. rustica*), hence more desired by the Indians. — Ed.

I have nothing more to ſay upon this Head; for I think I have given you a ſufficient account [54] of their Diſeaſes and of their Remedies, which in my Opinion are as Savage as themſelves. But let that be as it will, 'tis certain they ſeldom die of any other Diſtemper than of a Pleuriſy. As for the other Diſeaſes they get over them with the greateſt danger in the World, for ſetting aſide their Courage and Patience which goes beyond any thing that we can imagine, they take all the ways of the World to burſt themſelves by Eating and Drinking when they have groſs Feavours upon them, and when the fit is over ſmoaking that *Braſil* Tobaco, which without diſpute is the ſtrongeſt ſort that we know of.

The Women of this Country are ſubject to the Natural Diſorders as well as elſewhere, and ſometimes die of them. 'Tis true they have an admirable Remedy for redreſſing the Diſorders that flow from that Source; I mean, a certain Potion; but it hath no Operation unleſs they abſtain from all manner of Exceſs, which they are very unwilling to do. Some *French* Surgeons aſſur'd me, that the *European* Women void a much greater quantity and hold the Flux longer upon them than theſe *Americans*, who ſeldom have thoſe upon them above two Days at a time. Another Inconvenience that frequently annoys them, is an over-bearing quantity of Milk; for which they uſe to put little Puppies to ſuck their Breaſts.

[55] *The Diverſions of Hunting and Shooting uſual among the* Savages.

I HAVE already deſcrib'd the Hunting of the Elks and ſome other Animals of *Canada* in my 10th and 11th Letter, ſo that now it remains only to give you an exact account of the Beavers, which are ſaid to be *Amphibious Animals*, as I obſerv'd in my 16th Letter, with which I ſent you the Figure of theſe Animals. And becauſe theſe Beaſts do ſome things very ſurpriſing by a wonderful Inſtinct, to give you a right Notion wherein their Cunning conſiſts, I ſend you a Draught of thoſe Ponds which they know how to make more Artificially than any Man can do.

The Savages of *Canada* reflecting on the excellent Qualities of the Beavers, are wont to ſay, *That they have ſo much Wit, Capacity and Judgment, that they cannot believe their Souls die with their Bodies.* They add, *That if they were permitted to reaſon about things inviſible, and which fall not under their Senſes, they durſt maintain, that they are Immortal like ours.* But not to inſiſt on this Chimerical Fancy, it muſt be allow'd, that there are an infinite number of Men upon the Earth (without mentioning the *Tartars*, the Peaſants of *Muſcovy*, of *Norway*, and a Hundred other ſorts of People) who have not the Hundredth part of the Underſtanding which theſe Animals have.

The Beavers diſcover ſo much Art in their Works, that we cannot without offering violence to our Reaſon attribute their Skill to mere [56] Inſtinct, for it is lawful to doubt of ſome things whereof we cannot diſcover the Cauſe, provided they have not any Connexion with Religion; I mean ſuch things as appear ſo ſtrange to Sence and Reaſon, that we cannot give credit to them, unleſs we have ſeen them our ſelves. However, I will venture to write to you many Particulars upon this Subject, which perhaps may make you doubt of the truth of my Narrative. I will begin with aſſuring you, that theſe Animals join together in a Society conſiſting of an Hundred, and that they ſeem to talk and reaſon with one another by certain bemoaning inarticulate Sounds.[1] The Savages ſay they have an intelligible Jargon, by means whereof they communicate their Sentiments and Thoughts to one another. I never was an Eye Witneſs of this kind of Aſſemblies, but many *Savages* and *Coureurs de Bois*, who are People worthy of Credit, have aſſur'd me, that there is nothing more true. They add, that they conſult among themſelves about what things they muſt do to maintain their Cottages, their Banks and their Lakes, and about every thing that concerns the Preſervation of their Commonwealth. Theſe good People would perſwade me, that the Beavers ſet Centries while they are cutting through great Trees, as big as Tuns, with their Teeth, in the Neighbourhood of their little Lakes, and that when theſe Centinels

[1] On the methods of communication between beavers, consult a recent monograph by Dugmore, "The Outlaw; a character study of a Beaver," in Smithsonian Institution *Report*, 1900, pp. 517–522. — Ed.

cry out, upon the approach of Men or Beaſts, all the Beavers that are at Work throw themſelves into the Water and ſave themſelves by diving, till they come at their Cottages.[1] I mention this matter of Fact upon the Report of a Thouſand Perſons, who could have no Intereſt to impoſe upon me with Fables; but what follows I have obſerv'd my ſelf, in the Country where the *Outagamis* Hunt, [57] which I mention'd in the beginning of my 16th Letter.

The Beavers finding a Rivulet that runs croſs a Meadow, ſet themſelves to make Banks and Ramparts, which ſtopping the courſe of the Water cauſe an Inundation over the whole Meadow; that ſometimes is no leſs than two Leagues in Circumference. This Bank is made with Trees which they cut down with their four great ſharp Teeth, and then drag them along as they ſwim in the Water. Theſe Trees being rang'd a croſs at the bottom of this Meadow, the Animals load themſelves with Graſs and fat Earth, which they tranſport upon their great Tails, and throw in between the Wood with ſo much Art and Induſtry, that the moſt skilful Bricklayer can hardly make a ſtronger Wall with Lime and Morter. In the Night time they are heard to Work with ſo much Vigour and Diligence, that one would think them to be Men at Work, if he were not aſſur'd before hand that they are

[1] Apropos of Lahontan's hearsay reports of the sagacity of the beaver, the following should be noted: "Numberless writers upon this fertile and suggestive theme have been too easily betrayed into a fanciful exaggeration of facts, making the beaver a marvel of reflective, purposive, and coöperative intelligence — an imaginary picture, which an appeal to nature does not justify." — *Riverside Natural History*, v., p. 120. — Ed.

Beavers. Their Tails ſerve them for *Trouels*, and their Teeth for *Axes*, their Paws ſupply the place of *Hands*, and their Feet ſerve inſtead of *Oars:* In fine, they make Banks of 4 or 500 Paces in length, of 20 Feet in heighth, and 7 or 8 in thickneſs, in the ſpace of 5 or 6 Months, though there are not above a Hundred at moſt that Work upon them.[1] I muſt obſerve here by the by, that the Savages, out of a ſcruple of Conſcience, never break theſe Banks, but only bore a hole through them, as I ſhall ſhow you hereafter. Beſides their Talent of cutting down the Trees, their Art of making them fall upon the Water appears to me altogether ſurprizing; for it requires Judgment and cloſe Attention to ſucceed in it, and chiefly to nick the time when the Wind can aſſiſt them to make the fall of the [58] Tree more eaſie, and to make them fall upon their little Lakes. But this is not the fineſt Work of theſe Animals, that of their Cottages ſurpaſſes all Imagination; for it requires both Skill and Strength to make holes at the bottom of the Water, for planting their ſix Poſts which they take care to place exactly in the middle of the Lake: Upon theſe ſix Poſts they fix their little Houſe, which is built in the form of an Oven, and is made up of fat Earth, Herbs and Branches of Trees, having three Stories that they may mount up from one to the other when the Waters riſe by Rains or Thaw. The Rafters are of Ruſhes, and each Beaver hath an Apartment to himſelf. They enter into their Cabin

[1] Upon the subject of beaver dams, consult *Jes. Rel.*, i, p. 251; ix, pp. 129, 131; Martin, *Castorologia*, pp. 75, 76; Wells, "The Beaver," in *Harper's Magazine*, January, 1889. — Ed.

under Water, thro' a great hole in the firſt Floor, which is encompaſs'd with Aſp Wood cut in pieces on purpoſe, that they may the more eaſily drag it into their Cells when they have a mind to eat; for ſince it is their common Food, they are always ſo Provident as to lay up great heaps of it, and chiefly during the *Autumn*, foreſeeing that the cold Weather will freeze up their Lakes, and keep them ſhut up two or three Months in their Cabins.[1]

I ſhould never make an end if I attempted to give an account of all the ſeveral Artifices of theſe Ingenious Animals, the Order ſettled in their little Commonwealth, and the Precautions they uſe to ſecure themſelves from the purſuit of other Animals: I ſhall only obſerve, that all other Animals upon Earth, however Strong, Active and Vigorous they may be, have other Animals which they are affraid of; but theſe I now ſpeak of are not apprehenſive of any danger but only from Men, for the Wolves, the Foxes, the Bears, *&c.* care not for offering to attack them in their Cabines, although they have the faculty of Diving; and it is certain it [59] is not their Intereſt to do it, for the Beavers would defend themſelves very eaſily with their ſharp cutting Teeth; ſo that they cannot be inſulted but by Land, and 'tis for that reaſon they never go farther than twenty Paces from the edge of their Lake, and always ſet Centinels to watch, who cry out to give them notice when they hear the leaſt noiſe.

[1] It does not appear to be true that beavers can determine the direction a tree will fall; see Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 68–72. Nor do they plant posts to build their lodges; see Hearn's account in Martin, p. 226; also *Jes. Rel.*, ix, pp. 127, 129. — Ed.

It remains now only that I ſhould give an Account of the Nature of the Countries where the Beavers are hunted, ſome of which are deſcrib'd in my Map.[1] And firſt you muſt know, that you cannot go four or five Leagues in the Woods of *Canada*, but you meet with a little Beaver-Lake: So that one may ſay, that all this vaſt Continent is a Country for *Beaver hunting;* but this is not what I mean. The Places for Hunting that I now ſpeak of are a multitude of little Lakes replenſh'd with theſe Animals, the diſtance of which from one to another is inconſiderable. For Inſtance, thoſe of *Saguinan*, of *L' ours qui dort*, of the *River of Puants*, are about twenty Leagues in length, and in that whole compaſs of Ground their are found Sixty little Beaver Lakes more or leſs, where a certain number of Savages may Hunt in the Winter time.[2] 'Tis commonly about the end of *Autumn* that the Savages ſet out from their Villages in a Canow to go and poſt themſelves in the places for Hunting, and as they know all the places much better than I do the Streets of *Quebec*, they agree among themſelves, as they are Travelling, to allot each Family a certain compaſs of Ground, ſo that when they arrive at the place they divide themſelves into *Tribes*.[3] Each Hunter fixes his Houſe in the Center of that Ground which is his Diſtrict, as you may ſee

[1] For a map of beaver habitat and distribution, see Martin, p. 58. The beaver will probably soon become extinct in North America; even the interesting preserved colonies in the Yellowstone National Park, where they can still be studied with comparative ease, suffer a steady depletion at the hands of poachers. — Ed.

[2] See pp. 143, 168, 208, *ante*. — Ed.

[3] Martin (*Castorologia*, p. 140) cites instances where the Indians kept with fidelity to the bounds of their beaver reserves. — Ed.

deſcrib'd in this Cut. There are eight or ten Hunters in each Cottage, [60] who have four or five Lakes for their ſhare. In each Lake there is at leaſt one Houſe or Kennel of Beavers, and ſometimes two or three. After the Huntsmen have built their Huts they employ themſelves in laying Traps for *Otters*, *Foxes*, *Bears*, *Land Beavers* and *Martens*, upon the ſides of their Lakes; and when they are ſet go very orderly to look after them every Day: But above all they are ſo Juſt, that they would chooſe rather to die for Hunger than to ſtraggle out of the Bounds allotted them, or to ſteal the Beaſts that are taken in their Neighbours Traps. They feed well and make merry during this Hunting Seaſon, which laſts for four Months; for they find more than they have occaſion for, of *Trouts*, *Hares*, *Wood-Foul*, *Bears*, and ſometimes they meet with *Deer* and *Roebucks*.

The *Beavers* are ſeldom catch'd by Traps unleſs they put in them ſome pieces of red Aſp* which they love extreamly, and is not eaſie to be found. They are taken in the *Autumn* by making a great hole under their Banks, by which they drain all the Water out of their Lakes, and then the Beavers being left on dry Ground the Savages kill them all, except a dozen of Females, and half a dozen of Males; after which they are very exact in ſtopping up the hole they had made, which they do in ſuch a manner that the Lake is fill'd with Water as before.

* *A ſort of a Willow.*

Their way of Hunting in the Winter time when the Lake is frozen, is by making holes round the Kennels of the

Beavers, upon which they place Nets that reach from one to the other, and when they are extended as they ſhould be, they lay open the Kennels of theſe poor Animals with an Ax; upon which they throw themſelves into the Water, and coming to take [61] Breath at theſe Holes, are catch'd in the Nets; at this rate not one of them eſcapes, but the Savages having no mind to extirpate 'em throw back into the Holes, the ſame number of Beavers, Male and Female, as they uſually do at their Hunting in Autumn, as I have already told you.

They may likewiſe be kill'd when they Swim upon the Water, or when they come Aſhore to cut down Trees; but then you muſt be very well hid and not ſtir, for upon the leaſt noiſe that they hear, they throw themſelves into the Water, and Dive till they come to their Kennels. This way of Hunting is peculiar to Travellers, who finding themſelves lodg'd near ſome Beaver Lake, endeavour to ſurprize them, by Sculking behind ſome Log or ſome great Tree till Night comes on.[1]

The Savages take alſo other Animals in theſe Beaver-Hunting-Countries, by running up and down. I have already told you, that they ſet Traps, in which *Foxes*, *Wolves*, *Martens* and others are catch'd when they bite at the Bait. I have alſo explain'd to you the way of making this ſort of Traps, in my

[1] On methods of beaver hunting, see *Jes. Rel.*, vi, pp. 299–303; Masson, *Bourgeois*, ii, pp. 342–344. On modern methods, consult Wells, "Beaver." The use of castoreum as a bait was not adopted until near the close of the eighteenth century, and led to new methods of hunting which rapidly reduced the numbers of this animal. For the method of preparation of this bait, see frequent references in *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark Expedition*. — Ed.

11th Letter. Theſe Engines do not differ from one another, but only in bulk: Thoſe for the Bears are the ſtrongeſt, but they are of no uſe till the beginning of Winter; for then the Bears ſeek out great Trees which are Hollow, where the Branches begin to ſpread, that they may Neſtle in them. Many People will hardly believe that theſe Animals can live 3 Months in ſuch Priſons, without any other Food but the Juice of their Paws which they ſuck continually: And yet the matter of Fact is undeniably true. But I reckon it yet more ſtrange, that they are able to climb up to thoſe Lurking-Holes, eſpecially at a time when they are ſo Fat, [62] that 2 Savages conduct them whither they pleaſe with Poles, they being ſcarce able to walk. This I ſaw 3 or 4 times during the Winter in 1687, when I Winter'd at *Fort St. Joſeph;* for the *Hurons* of *Gaintſouan* brought ſome of them off, which enter'd the Fort without any reluctancy.[1]

The Savages make likewiſe Traps for the *Land-Beavers*, which for the reaſon given in my 16th Letter, neſtle on the Land, like *Foxes*, *Conies* and *Badgers:* And notwithſtanding that they are purſu'd by the other Beavers, yet they make their Dens about the Lakes, Brooks and Rivers. They are eaſily taken in theſe Traps, eſpecially when they are Baited with the Head of an *Otter:* For there is ſo great an Antipathy

[1] This Huron appellation has not been certainly identified; but consult Coyne (ed.), "Exploration of the Great Lakes, 1669–70," in Ontario Historical Society *Records and Papers*, iv (Toronto, 1903), especially the map; also Jones, "Identification of St. Ignace II and of Ekarenniondi," in Ontario Archæological *Report*, 1902, pp. 92–136, particularly the map of Petun Country, p. 113.—Ed.

between theſe 2 ſorts of Animals, that they are continually at War with one another.[1]

The Savages inform'd me, that they ſaw a great Company of *Otters* Aſſembled together about the Month of *May*, who had the boldneſs to attack the *Beavers* in their Huts, but were beaten back and driven from the Lake with loſs. They added, that a Beaver can defend himſelf againſt 3 Otters, by the help of his Teeth and Tail. In fine, 'tis certain that the Lake Beavers are ſeldom taken in Traps, unleſs they be Baited with ſome Aſpwood, as I have already obſerv'd. I acquainted you above that the Savages viſit their Traps every day, and carry into their Cottages the Prey that they find catch'd. Immediately after that, the Slaves Flea the Beaſts that are taken, and ſtretch out their Skins in the Air, or on the Ice to dry them. This Imployment laſts as long as the time of Hunting, which ends with the great Thaw; and then they put up their Skins in Bundles, and carry them to the place where they left the Canows when they firſt came into this Hunting-Country.

[63] Altho the Savages have great reaſon to be afraid of their Enemies, while they lye diſperſed up and down in a Country, which is no leſs than 20 Leagues in Compaſs, as I intimated above; yet they ſcarce ever uſe the Precaution of ſending out Scouts upon all hands, and for want of it are often Surpriz'd, when they leaſt think of it. I could relate 20 fatal Excurſions of the *Iroqueſe* into the Hunting-Countries

[1] On land beavers, see pp. 170–172, *ante*. — Ed.

I have been ſpeaking of, in which they cut the Throats of many of our Friends and Allies. I did all that I could to perſuade our Allies that their Conduct was faulty upon this occaſion, ſince they could eaſily ſecure themſelves from ſuch Inſults, by Building their Cottages at a place where they might poſt a Guard of Centinels, to watch and diſcover any Enemies, that might advance to the Frontiers of theſe Hunting-Countries. They only made anſwer; *that this indeed was reaſonable, and that it was true, they did not ſleep in ſafety for want of that Precaution.* In fine, they imagine that their Enemies are buſied in Hunting on their own Coaſts; and upon that Apprehenſion, are ſuch Fools as not to uſe any Precaution. But this I know, that the *Iroqueſe* take quite another Method, having their Scouts and advanc'd Guards, which are always in Motion; by which means they are ſcarce ever diſturb'd in their Hunting. Nevertheleſs, I think I ought not to conclude this Chapter, without giving you an account of 2 Attempts wherein the *Iroqueſe* miſs'd of their deſign to ſurprize their Enemies, tho they had very good Succeſs upon many other occaſions.

In the year 1680. The *Oumamis* and *Ilineſe* being at Hunting near the River *Oumamis;* a Party of 400 *Iroqueſe* ſurpriz'd them, kill'd 30 or 40 Hunters, and took 300 Prisoners, including [64] Women and Children.[1] After they had reſted a little while, they prepar'd to return Home by ſhort Jour-

[1] Evidently this was an episode (although probably with exaggerated numbers) occurring in the Illinois-Iroquois war (1680–82). The Miami were at first reluctant allies of the latter, but later complained that they "were daily slaughtered by the Iroquois." See *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, pp. 162, 177, 192. — Ed.

neys, becauſe they had reaſon to believe that they ſhould reach their own Villages before the *Ilineſe* and *Oumamis* could have time to Rally, and give notice of their Diſaſter to ſuch of the Nations as were Hunting in remoter Places. But they were ſo much deceiv'd, that the *Ilineſe* and *Oumamis* Rallied to the number of 200, and reſolv'd to die Fighting rather than ſuffer their Countrymen to be carried away by the *Iroqueſe*. In the mean time, becauſe their Party was not an equal Match for the Enemies, they contriv'd a notable Stratagem: For after they had well conſider'd in what manner they ſhould Attack them, they concluded that they ought to follow them at a ſmall diſtance till it began to Rain. Their Project ſucceeded, and the Heavens ſeem'd to favour it: For while it Rain'd continually one whole day from Morning to Night, they ſo quicken'd their pace, from the time that the Rain begun to fall, that they paſs'd by on one ſide at 2 Leagues diſtance from the *Iroqueſe*, and ſo got before them to lay an Ambuſcade in the middle of a Meadow, which the Enemy was to croſs in order to reach a Wood, where they had a mind to make a halt and kindle great Fires. The *Ilineſe* and *Oumamis* lying upon their Belly among the *Fern*, waited till the *Iroqueſe* were got into the middle of them before they Shot off their Arrows; and then they Attack'd them ſo vigorouſly with their Clubs, that the Enemy finding their Fire-Arms unſerviceable, by reaſon that their Prime was wet, were forc'd to throw them down on the Ground, and defend themſelves with the ſame Arms wherewith they were Attack'd, (I mean with Clubs.) But as I obſerv'd before,

that the [65] *Ilineſe* are ſomething more dextrous and nimble than the *Iroqueſe*, ſo the latter were forc'd to yield to the former, and retreated Fighting till Night came on, after they had loſt 180 Soldiers. The Fight which laſted but one hour, had continued all Night, if the Conquerors had not been afraid, leſt their Countrymen being ſtill Bound and left behind 'em, ſhould be expos'd to ſome Surprize in the dark: And therefore after they had rejoyn'd them, and ſeiz'd all the Fire-Arms of their Enemies who were fled and diſpers'd up and down, they return'd into their own Country, without taking one *Iroqueſe*, for fear of weakning themſelves.

The 2d Attempt hapned 3 years after this, in the Hunting-Country of the *Outagamis;* where the Governor of that Nation, as I inform'd you in my 16th Letter, gave me 10 Soldiers to accompany me to the Long River. The Blow then given was after this manner. A Body of 1000 *Iroqueſe* being come in their Canows about the end of Autumn, as far as the Bay of *Miſſiſagues*, in the Lake of the *Hurons*,[1] without being diſcover'd, Landed at this place; and being very numerous, march'd up the Country with their Nets, in order to Fiſh in the little Lakes and Rivers, till the Froſty Seaſon ſhould come on, which hapned a few days after. After the Ice was ſtrong enough to bear them, they continued their Courſe, coaſting along the great Lake of the *Hurons*, till they were 5 or 6 Leagues below the Fall call'd *Saut Sainte Marie*, which they would not approach to for fear of meeting with ſome *Coureurs*

[1] "Bay of Missisagues" is the present Georgian Bay, off Lake Huron. The Huronia of the *Jesuit Relations* was bounded on the west by this bay. — Ed.

de bois in the Fort of the *Jeſuits*. Having croſs'd the Bay, they judg'd it convenient to make very ſhort Journies, for fear of being diſcover'd. And they were ſo cautious as to march all in a Row upon the Snow; that if [66] by chance any one ſhould diſcover their Footſteps, it might be thought that they were not above Thirty or Forty at the moſt. After this manner they Travell'd till the 15th or 20th of *February*, without being perceiv'd, but at laſt they had the misfortune to be diſcover'd by four *Sauteurs*, who ſeeing ſo great a number paſs over a little Lake, run with all ſpeed to the Hunting Country of the *Outagamis* to give them notice, notwithſtanding that the *Sauteurs* were then at War with the *Outagamis*. In the mean time the Thaw coming on ſuddenly contrary to the Expectation of the *Iroqueſe*, who reckon'd upon Twenty Days of Froſt to come, according to the common courſe of the Seaſon; this made them mend their pace, and look out for the narroweſt and leaſt frequented Paſſes. The *Outagamis* were mightily perplex'd what courſe to take in this caſe. It was certain that they might get back again to their Villages in ſafety, but then they would be forc'd to abandon their Wives and Children, who had not ſtrength to run as the Men. In fine, after they had held a Council among themſelves, they reſolv'd to advance as far as a certain Paſs about half a League in length and Thirty Paces in breadth, between two little Lakes, which way they ſaw plainly that the *Iroqueſe* were oblig'd to paſs.

The *Outagamis* being no more than four Hundred thought fit to divide themſelves into two Bodies, and it was agreed,

that two Hundred ſhould be poſted at the end of a Paſs which they ſhould Fortifie immediately with a Range of Stakes from one Lake to another; and that the other two Hundred ſhould go about a quarter of a League off of the other end of the Paſs, thro' which the *Iroqueſe* were to march, to the end that every one having cut down a Stake they [67] might all run quickly in to ſtop up that end of the Paſſage, and that immediately after the *Iroqueſe* had entred the Defile, the Scouts appointed to obſerve their March ſhould come and give them notice; all which was punctually put in Execution: For as ſoon as that great Multitude, who induſtriouſly pitch'd upon the narrow Roads, was entred into this Paſs, the two Hundred *Outagamis*, who were about a quarter of a League to one ſide of it, run in with all their Might and carried with them a ſufficient number of Pales to encloſe that little piece of Land which was bounded by the two little Lakes, ſo that they had time enough to ſet them up and faſten them with Earth, before the *Iroqueſe*, being aſtoniſh'd to find their way block'd up at the other end, could return back the ſame way, to ſee themſelves ſhut up between two Barricadoes. Now the Savages, as I have often told you, are never ſo raſh as to attack a Redoubt of Fifty Paliſadoes, yet theſe *Iroqueſe* were reſolv'd to venture upon an Attack, and with that view run up with all expedition to force the new Barricado; but they ſlacken'd their pace after the firſt diſcharge which the *Outagamis* made through the intervalls of the Pales, for they had not time to joyn them as they ſhould be. The *Iroqueſe* ſeeing themſelves thus ſhut up, took the number of the *Outagamis* to be much

greater than realy it was. In the mean time the great Queſtion was, how to get out of this Priſon? For to throw themſelves into the Water and ſwim over one of theſe Lakes, was to run the hazard of ones Life, beſides that one muſt be long-winded and have a good Heart to ſwim over a broad Lake, at a time when the Water was cold, the Ice being not quite melted. This Conſultation gave the *Outagamis* time to fortifie their Barricadoes, and to [68] ſend out Scouts who were plac'd at a diſtance from one another, upon the Banks of theſe two Lakes, to knock all on the Head that offer'd to ſwim to the ſhore.

Notwithſtanding all theſe Precautions the *Iroqueſe* found out a wonderful Expedient, which was to make Floats of the Trees wherewith they were encompaſs'd; but the blows of the Ax made too great a noiſe, which diſcover'd their Deſign to the *Outagamis*, and therefore they made Canows of Hart-skins to run backward and forward upon the two Lakes in the Night time. Theſe Boats were made in five or ſix Days, during which time the *Iroqueſe* fiſh'd and catch'd abundance of Trouts in the ſight of the *Outagamis*, who could not hinder them. After this no body doubted, but they muſt croſs one of the Lakes, and fight ſtoutly when they came to the Landing place, in caſe their ſecret Navigation was diſcover'd. That they might the better ſucceed in their Deſign they made a Feint, which had infallibly anſwer'd their end if the bottom of the Lake had not been Clay: For about Midnight having Sacrific'd Twenty Slaves upon one of the Lakes, whom they forc'd to puſh a Float along, they made account to paſs the

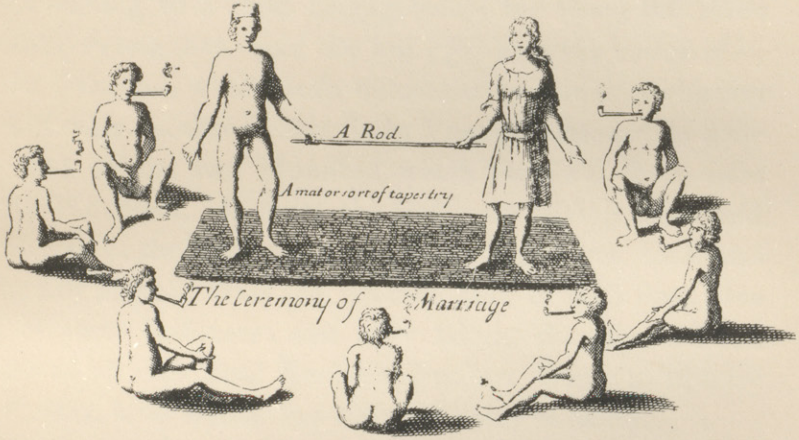
other the ſame way, making uſe of Poles inſtead of Oars: But in regard that the Poles ſunk ſo deep into the Clay, that the Steerſmen could not pull them out again without great difficulty, they made but ſlow diſpatch; inſomuch that the *Outagamis*, that at first were under a miſtake in joyning themſelves to the Slaves, had time to run to the other Lake, where they found the *Iroqueſe* about a Musket-ſhot off the Shore. As ſoon as the *Iroqueſe* came to have but three Foot Water they threw themſelves into the Water with their Guns cock'd, ſuffering at [69] the ſame time the Fire of the *Outagamis*, who were not above three Hundred, there being Fifty of them left to guard each Barricado. 'Tis a wonder the *Iroqueſe* were not all cut off in the Landing, for they ſunk in the Clay up to their Knees. 'Tis true, 'twas in the Night time, and for that reaſon all the Enemy's Fire might not bear upon them. However five Hundred of them fell in the Water, and the reſt having gain'd the Shoar notwithſtanding all the oppoſition of the *Outagamis*, attack'd them with ſuch Fury that if the Hundred Men that were left for a Guard to the Barricadoes had not run in to their Aſſiſtance upon the firſt noiſe of the Guns, the poor *Outagamis* were in danger of falling upon the Spot. They fought till the break of Day with wonderful fury, and that in the greateſt Confuſion imaginable, being diſpers'd up and down a Wood, inſomuch that ſeveral were kill'd by their own Men, who could not diſtinguiſh who was who. The *Iroqueſe* were obſtinately reſolv'd not to yield the Field of Battel, out of regard to their wounded Men, and in conſideration that they would not have the *Outagamis* to take the Hair of



A Savage approaching with a torch to his mistriss bed, who rejecting his offers covers her face with the coverlet.



A Savage carrying a torch to ye bedside of his mistriss who shews her consent to admit him by blowing out the light



The Ceremony of Marriage



A Savage sitting on the foot of his mistresses bed and conversing with her

An Old man receiving ye new marryd woman and her relation at the door of the hutt.

their Dead. But at laſt they were oblig'd to give way, without being purſued, and fled half a League off where they rally'd. I was inform'd by ſeveral *Iroqueſe* ſome Years after this Engagement happen'd, that thoſe who ſurviv'd the Engagement were for venturing upon a new Bruſh; but conſidering that they wanted Powder, and that they were oblig'd to return home through the Country of the *Sauteurs*, or thoſe who live on the Confines of the great Water Falls, they chang'd their Reſolution. But after all they were much out in not coming to a freſh Engagement; for being ſtill three Hundred ſtrong they could not but [70] have the better of it, for the *Outagamis* were not ſo numerous by one third, having loſt half their number in that ſharp Engagement, not to mention that of the two Hundred which remain'd there were Thirty Wounded. In ſhort the *Outagamis* having intrench'd themſelves in the ſame place where the Fight was, took care in the firſt place to dreſs the Wounds both of their own Men and of their Priſoners; and after taking the Hair off the Heads of all their dead Enemies, ſent out Scouts to obſerve the Enemy, after which they return'd home in ſafety.

When the *Outagamis* arriv'd at their Villages, the firſt thing they did was a return of Thanks to the four *Sauteurs* that had given them Intelligence of the approach of the *Iroqueſe*. They proclaim'd them to be great Maſters of War, and preſented 'em with one half of what they had got at Hunting, which amounted to Sixty Thouſand Crowns, pretending farther, that theſe four Savages ought to inherit the Beaver and other Skins belonging to thoſe of the *Outagamis* that

were kill'd in the Battle. In fine, after entertaining those Intelligencers with good Chear, and all the Marks of Honour that were poſſible in their way, they ſent them in a Canow to *Saut St. Mary*, by the way of the Bay of *Puantes*, with a Guard of Fifty Warriors. The *Sauteurs* refus'd both their Preſents and their Convoy, upon the account that the two Nations were then at War with one another: But the *Outagamis* forc'd them upon 'em, and 'twas this that procur'd a Peace between them at the end of four Months.[1]

This, Sir, as I take it is ſufficient to give you an *Idea* of the Hazards that the Savages run at their Beaver Hunting. In the mean time, tho' I have but juſt made an end of two Military Adventures, yet I allot the very next Chapter [71] for an account of their Military Art, in which you'l meet with ſomethings that will ſerve for Diverſion to your ſelf and Entertainment to your Friends.

[1] Lahontan appears to be the only contemporary author who relates this defeat of the Iroquois by the Foxes (Outagamis). Allouez speaks of a war between them, about 1670; but it is strange that so signal a victory of the French-allied Indians should not have been mentioned in the official documents of the period. The story would therefore appear to be of doubtful authenticity. — ED.

The Military Art of the Savages.

THE Savage call'd *Rat*, whom I have mention'd ſo often in my Letters, has ſaid to me ſeveral times, that the only thing in the World that vex'd and diſturb'd his Mind was the ſeeing Men wage War with Men. *Prithee, my Brother*, ſaid he, *do but look; our Dogs agree perfectly well with the* Iroqueſe *Dogs, and thoſe of the* Iroqueſe *bear no Enmity to the Dogs that come from* France. *I do not know any Animal that wages War with others of its own Species, excepting Man, who upon this ſcore is more Unnatural than the Beaſts. For my part* (continues he) *I am of the Opinion, that if the Brutes could Think and Reaſon, and communicate their Thoughts, 'twould be an eaſie matter for them to extripate the Human Race: For, in earneſt, if the Bears and Wolves were but capable of forming a Republick, who could hinder them to draw together a Body of ten or twelve Thouſand, and to fall upon us? If ſuch a thing ſhould happen, what defence can we make? They would ſcale our Villages with the greateſt Facility imaginable, and after the pulling down of our Huts devour our ſelves. Could we in ſuch a Caſe undertake a Hunting Expedition, without running the riſque of being torn in Pieces? We ſhould then be reduc'd to live upon Accorns and Roots, without Arms and without Cloaths, and to run the perpetual hazard of falling into the Clutches of theſe*

Animals. Their Strength and Nimbleneſs would ſink all Oppoſition from us, and command us to yield. [72] *Let us conclude therefore, my dear Brother, that this* Reaſon *which Man boaſts ſo much of is the greateſt Inſtrument of his Miſery; and that if Men were without that Faculty of Thinking, Arguing and Speaking, they would not imbarque in mutual Wars as they now do, without any regard to Humanity or Sacred Promiſes.*

Such, Sir, are the Moral Thoughts of a Savage, who pretends to Philoſophiſe upon the Cuſtom that we have of killing Men with Juſtice and Honour. The Jeſuits do their utmoſt to remove this Scruple by ſuch Reaſons as they have, as they do upon ſeveral other Subjects, and the Savages hear 'em very gravely, but at the ſame time they tell 'em that they do not underſtand 'em.

The Wars of the Savages are grounded upon the Right of Hunting, or of a Paſſage upon ſuch and ſuch Grounds; for their Limits are adjuſted, and every Nation is perfectly well acquainted with the Boundaries of their own Country. Now theſe *Americans* are as Cruel to their Enemies, as they are True to their Allies; for ſome Nations among them uſe their Priſoners with the laſt degree of Inhumanity; as I ſhall ſhew you more at large in the Sequel. When the *Europeans* offer to Cenſure the Savages for their barbarous and cruel Uſage, they reply very coldly, *That Life is nothing, that they are not reveng'd on their Enemies by cutting their Throats, but by putting them to a long, tedious, ſharp and laſting Torture; and that Women would be as chearful Warriors as Men, if there*

were nothing to be fear'd but bare Death. At the Age of Fifteen they begin to bear Arms, and lay 'em down at Fifty. If they happen to bear Arms ſooner or later, 'tis only in the way of marauding, for they are not liſted into the number of the Warriors.

[73] The Strength of the *Iroqueſe* lies in engaging with Fire-Arms in a Forreſt; for they ſhoot very dexterouſly; beſides that they are very well vers'd in making the beſt advantage of every thing, by covering themſelves with Trees, behind which they ſtand ſtock ſtill after they have diſcharg'd, though their Enemies be twice their Number. But in regard that they are more clumſy and not ſo clever as the more *Southern Americans*, they have no Dexterity in handling a Club; and thus it comes to paſs, that they are always worſted in the open Field, where the Clubs are the only Weapons; for which Reaſon they avoid any Engagement in Meadows or open Fields as much as is poſſible.

The Savages never court an Engagement but by way of Surpriſal, that is, the ſide which makes the firſt diſcovery is almoſt always ſure of having the better of it; for they have it in their choice to make the Attack either in the open Field, or in the moſt dangerous Defiles or Paſſes.

In the Day time they take all the Precaution in the World to cover their March, by ſending out Scouts on all Hands, unleſs it be that the Party is ſo ſtrong as to fear nothing; for then, indeed, they March all in a cloſe Body. But they are as Negligent in the Night time, as they are Vigilant in the

Day; for they place neither Centries nor Guards at the entry of their Camp, and when they go a Hunting or Shooting of Beavers, they are equally ſecure or careleſs. When I enquir'd into the reaſon of this bad Diſcipline, I was aſſur'd that the Savages did it by way of Preſumption, as reckoning ſo much upon the Reputation of their Valour, that they imagine their Enemies will not be ſo bold as to Attack them: And when they ſend out Scouts in the Day time, that Precaution proceeds more [74] from an itch to ſurpriſe their Enemies, than from the fear of being ſurpris'd themſelves.

There are a great many Savage Nations in *Canada* that tremble at the very Name of the *Iroqueſe*, for the latter are a brave ſort of People; they are expert Warriors, ready upon all Enterpriſes, and capable to put them in Execution, with all due Dexterity. 'Tis true, they are not ſo ſprightly as moſt of their Enemies, nor ſo happy in fighting with Clubs; and 'tis for that Reaſon that they never march but in numerous Bodies, and that by ſlower Marches than thoſe of the other Savages. In fine, you'l ſee in my Liſt of the Nations of *Canada*, which of 'em are Warlike, and which are only qualify'd for Hunting.

The Savages have a wonderful Talent in ſurpriſing their Enemies; for they can trace the Footſteps of Men and Beaſts upon Graſs and Leaves, better than the *Europeans* can upon Snow or wet Sand. Nay, which is more, they can diſtinguiſh with a great deal of Facility between freſh Tracts and thoſe of longer ſtanding, and can make a juſt Eſtimate of the number and kind that made them. Theſe Tracts they follow

whole Days without being miſtaken. This I have ſeen ſo often with my own Eyes, that there's no room left for the leaſt doubt upon the matter.

The Warriors never undertake any thing without the Advice of the Ancient Men, to whom they propoſe their Projects. Upon a Propoſal thus made the old Men meet and conſult upon it; after which their Speaker walks out of the Council-Hut, and with a loud Voice Proclaims the Reſolution of the Council, that all the Village may have due Information of the ſame.

[75] You muſt obſerve that each Village hath its General or Great Head of the Warriors, who in conſideration of his Valour, Capacity and Experience is proclaim'd ſuch by an unanimous Conſent.[1] But after all, this Title inveſts him with no Power over the Warriors; for theſe People are Strangers to a Military as well as to a Civil Subordination. Nay, they are ſo far from it, that if the great Leader ſhould order the ſillyeſt and moſt pittiful Fellow in his Army to do ſo and ſo, why truly, this ſhaddow of a Captain would receive this Anſwer from the Centinel, *That what he orders another to do he ought to do it himſelf.* But 'tis ſuch an uncommon thing for the Leader to act ſo indiſcreetly, that I Queſtion if there be one Inſtance of it. However this mutual Independance is of no ill Conſequence; for though the great Leader is not inveſted with Power and Authority, yet they acquieſce entirely in

[1] In most tribes the civil and military government is separate, the war chief being from a different clan than the head chief, and usually chosen for ability and valor. See Powell, "Wyandot Government," in U. S. Bur. of Eth. *Report*, 1879–80, pp. 59–69; Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Ibid*, 1881–82, pp. 312–333. — Ed.

what he Propoſes. He no ſooner opens his Mouth in ſaying, *I think ſuch and ſuch a thing proper, let's detach Ten or Twenty Men*, &c. than 'tis put in Execution, without the leaſt Oppoſition. Beſides the great Leader there are ſome other Leaders that Head a certain number of Warriors who follow them out of Friendſhip and Reſpect; and theſe are not look'd upon as Leaders or Commanders by any other than their own Family or Followers.[1]

When the old Men think it proper that a Party of Warriors ſhould take the Field, the *Great Leader* who always aſſiſts at the Council, hath the privilege of making his choice whether he'll Head them himſelf, or ſtay at home in the Village. If he hath a mind to go himſelf, he orders the Cryer of that Nation to make publick Proclamation in all the Streets of the Village, That on ſuch a Day he gives the Feaſt of War to thoſe who [76] pleaſe to be preſent. Then, thoſe who have a mind to go in that Party, ſend their Diſhes to the General's Houſe on the appointed day, and are ſure to be there themſelves before noon. When the Company is all gather'd, the General walks out to a publick place with his Club in his hand, being followed by the Warriours who ſit down round him. This done, there comes ſix Savages, with as many Kettle Drums, which make a Clutter, rather than a Warlike Sound.[2] Theſe Drummers ſit down ſquat upon their Tails

[1] There seem to be some traces among the North American Indians of the institution of fellowship, or "comitatus"—see Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 68. Private war parties were frequently organized, the instigator becoming leader of the band of his selected associates. — Ed.

[2] For an account of Indian drums, see Masson, *Bourgeois*, ii, pp. 332, 333. — Ed.

by a Poſt fix'd in the Center of the great Ring: And at the ſame time, the General fixes his Eyes upon the Sun, all the Company following his example, and makes his Addreſſes to the Great Spirit; after which a Sacrifice is commonly offer'd up. When this Ceremony is over, he ſings the Song of War, the Drummers beating Time to him after their way; and at the end of every Period, which contains one of his Exploits, he knocks againſt the Poſt with his Club. When he has made an end of his Song, each Warriour ſings in his turn after the ſame faſhion, provided he has made a Campagne before; for if he has not, he's doom'd to Silence. This done, the whole Company returns to the General's Hutt, where they find their Dinner ready for them.

If the General do's not think it fit to Command the Party in Perſon, and chooſes to ſtay at home; the Warriours that deſign to go upon the Party, chooſe one of the *Under-Leaders* that I mention'd but now: And the *Under-Leader* thus choſen, obſerves the ſame Ceremonies of Addreſſing the Great Spirit, Sacrificing, Singing, and Feaſting. The laſt Ceremony is continued every day till they March out.

Some of theſe Parties go half way, or three quarters of their way in Canows; particularly [77] thoſe who live upon the Banks of Lakes, as well as the *Iroqueſe*. The *Iroqueſe* have this advantage over their Enemies, that they are all Arm'd with good Fire-Locks; whereas the others who uſe thoſe Engines only for the Shooting of Beaſts, have not above half their number provided with 'em: And 'tis for this reaſon, that the nearer they come to their Enemies Country, the leſs

they ſpread out in Hunting or Shooting, eſpecially with Fire-Arms, the report of which might Alarm the Enemy. When they come within thirty or forty Leagues of danger, they give over Hunting and Shooting, being afraid to fire their Guns; and content themſelves with the *Indian Corn*, of which each of them carries a Bag of ten pound weight; and upon which they feed, after 'tis mix'd with a little Water without Boiling.

When the *Illineſe*, the *Outagamis*, the *Hurons*, and the *Sauteurs* wage War with the *Iroqueſe*, and have a mind to make a bold Attempt; if there be but thirty of them, they'll march directly up to the end of the Village, preſuming that in caſe of a diſcovery, they can eaſily ſave themſelves by their good Heels. In the mean time, they have the Precaution to March one after another; and he that comes laſt takes care to ſtrow the Ground with Leaves, in order to cover their footſteps. After they have paſt the Village, and are got into the *Iroqueſe* Country, they run all night; and in the day time lye flat upon their Bellies, in the Copſes and Thickets, being ſometimes diſpers'd, and ſometimes all in a Body. Towards the Evening, or as ſoon as the Sun ſets, they Spring out from their Ambuſcade, and fall upon every one they meet, without ſparing either Age or Sex: For 'tis a cuſtomary thing with theſe Warriours to ſhew no Mercy, not to Children and Women. After they have finiſh'd their Maſſacre, and taken [78] the Hair off the Heads of the Dead, they have the boldneſs to make a Funeral Cry. If they ſee any *Iroqueſe* at a diſtance, they ſtrain their Voices to acquaint 'em that they have kill'd ſome of their Folks, whom they may take care to Bury: That

the Action was accompliſh'd by ſuch a Leader and ſuch a Nation. This done, they all betake themſelves to Flight by different Roads, and run with their utmoſt ſpeed till they come to a general place of Rendezvous, about thirty or forty Leagues off. In the mean time, the *Iroqueſe* do not give themſelves the trouble of purſuing them, as being ſenſible that they are not ſo nimble Footed as to overtake 'em.

If theſe Parties are two or three hundred Men ſtrong, they'll venture to enter the Village in the Night time; making one or two of their Warriours to Scale the Paliſſadoes and open the Gates, in caſe they are ſhut. But you muſt know, that the *Outaouas*, as well as the other Savages that have not ſo much Courage and Activity, content themſelves with purſuing the *Iroqueſe* in the Countries where they Hunt or Fiſh: For they dare not come within forty Leagues of their Villages, unleſs they know of a place of Refuge, in caſe of a diſcovery or purſuit: And there can be no other Refuge than ſome little Forts kept up by the *French*.

The Savages never take any Priſoners at the Gates of their Enemies Villages; by reaſon of the Expedition they are oblig'd to make in running Night and Day to ſave themſelves: 'Tis in the Hunting and Fiſhing Countries, and in the other places that afford them an opportunity of ſurprizing their Enemy, that they take 'em Priſoners: For upon ſuch occaſions, the weaker ſide being forc'd to give way, and to maintain a running Fight without any Order or Diſcipline, [79] while every one flies his own way, 'tis not poſſible but that the Conquerors muſt take Priſoners: And there's always ſome ſtrong

brawny Savages who know how to throw down the Priſoner dextrouſly, and to bind him in a moment. But there are ſome of the defeated Parties, who chooſe rather to kill themſelves than to be took Priſoners; and others are ſo obſtinate that they muſt be Wounded before they can be catch'd. As ſoon as a Savage is Fetter'd, he ſings his Death Song, after the manner deſcrib'd in my 23d Letter. The *Iroqueſe* that have the misfortune to be catch'd, have nothing to expect but fearful Torture, if they fall into the hands of the *Oumamis*, the *Outaouas*, the *Algonkins*, and the Savages of *Acadia:* For theſe People are extream cruel to their Priſoners.[1] The leaſt Puniſhment they inflict upon 'em, is, that of obliging the poor Wretches to put their Finger into the mouth of a lighted Pipe; which makes an agreeable diverſion to the Conqueror in his Journey home. The other Nations uſe their Priſoners with much more Humanity. From hence we may conclude, that we ought to make a great difference between the ſeveral Nations of *Canada;* ſome of which are Warlike, others Cowardly; ſome a lively Active People, others Heavy and Dull: In a Word, the Caſe is the ſame in *America* as it is in *Europe*, where every Nation has not the Virtues or Vices of another. For the *Iroqueſe*, and the other Nations that I nam'd along with them, burn all their Priſoners; whereas the other Nations content themſelves with the keeping of them in Slavery, without putting any to Death. 'Tis the firſt ſort that I mean to ſpeak of in the three enſuing Paragraphs.

[1] The torture of Indian captives, and the barbarities therein committed, are well-known. For early descriptions, see *Jes. Rel.*, i, p. 271; iv, pp. 199, 201; x, p. 227. — Ed.

[80] As ſoon as a party of *Barbarians* approach their own Village, they make as many Dead-Cries as they have loſt Men; and when they come within a Muſquet-Shot of the Village, they renew the mournful Tune; and repeat it for a certain number of times anſwerable to the number of the ſlain among the Enemies. Then the Youths under ſixteen, and above twelve years of age, Arm themſelves with Sticks, and make a Lane in order to beat the Priſoners, which they put in execution as ſoon as the Warriours have made their entry, carrying the Hair of thoſe they have ſlain upon the end of their Bows.

The next day, the old Men meet in Council upon the diſtribution of the Priſoners, which are commonly preſented to ſuch Married Women or Maids as have loſt Relations in the Expedition, and to thoſe that want Slaves. After the diſtribution is adjuſted, three or four Young Scoundrels of the Age of fifteen, take the Priſoners and conduct them to theſe Women or Girles. Now, if the Woman to whom the preſent is made, means that the poor Wretch ſhould die, ſhe gives him to underſtand that her Father, her Brother, her Husband, *&c.* having no Slaves to ſerve them in the Country of the Dead, it behoves him to take a Journey thither out of hand. If evidence be brought that the poor Slave has kill'd either Women or Children in his lifetime, the young Executioners lead him to a Woodpile, where he is forc'd to undergo the diſmal Torments mentioned in my 23d Letter; and ſometimes ſomewhat that is yet more terrible. But if the unfortunate Priſoner can make it appear that he only kill'd

Men, they content themſelves with the Shooting of him. If the Woman or Girl has a mind to ſave the Priſoners life (which often happens) ſhe takes him by the hand; and [81] after conducting him into the Hut, cuts his Bonds and orders him Cloaths, Arms, Victuals and Tobacco. This favour is uſually accompany'd with theſe words. *I have given thee thy life, I have knock'd off thy chains, pluck up a good heart, ſerve me well, be not ill minded, and thou ſhalt have whereupon to comfort thee for the loſs of thy Country and thy Relations.* Sometimes the *Iroqueſe* Women adopt the Slaves that are preſented to 'em, and then they are look'd upon as Members of the Nation. As for the Women Priſoners they are diſtributed among the Men, who are ſure to grant 'em their lives.[1]

You muſt take notice that the Savages of *Canada* never exchange their Priſoners.[2] As ſoon as they are put in Chains, their Relations and the whole Nation to which they retain, look upon 'em as dead; unleſs it be that they were ſo much Wounded when they were taken, that they could not poſſibly kill themſelves. Theſe indeed they receive when they make their eſcape; but if the other Priſoners ſhould offer to return, they would be contemn'd by their neareſt Relations, and no body would receive 'em. The way of waging War among the Savages is ſo harſh, that one muſt have a Body of Steel to

[1] This custom of adoption of prisoners was one of great value to the white captives, and saved the lives of many. See Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare* (Thwaites's ed., Cincinnati, 1895), for typical instances. — Ed.

[2] The author means that captives are not exchanged while a state of war persists between the tribes. Upon the arrangement of peace, the captives are all returned. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 447–451; 465–467. — Ed.

bear the Fatigues they are oblig'd to undergo. Now if we joyn to this inconveniency that of their giving but little Quarter to one another; and for the moſt part, without any regard either to Women or Children, we will not think it ſtrange that the number of their Warriours is ſo ſmall, that ſometimes one Nation can ſcarce muſter up a thouſand.

The Savages are never raſh in declaring War; they hold frequent Councils before they reſolve upon it, and muſt be very well aſſur'd of the ſteddineſs of the Neighbouring Nations, whoſe [82] Alliance or Neutrality they require. Beſides, before they come to ſuch a reſolution, they make it their buſineſs to fathom the Minds of ſuch Nations as lye remote; to the end that they may take juſt meaſures, by weighing all the Conſequences ſeriouſly, and endeavouring to foreſee all the accidents that may happen. They uſe the Precaution of ſending Deputies to the People whom they propoſe for their Allies, to make a narrow inquiry whether their Old Men have Heads well turn'd for Government, and for the giving of judicious and ſeaſonable Counſels to their Warriours, whoſe number they want to know as well as their Valour and Experience. The next thing that they have in view, is the carrying on of the Trade of Skins with the *French* without diſadvantage, and the Hunting of Beavers in Winter without expoſing themſelves to danger. After all, they make this propoſal to their Allies; that they ſhall engage not to put an end to the War till their Enemies are intirely deſtroy'd, or elſe oblig'd to abdicate their Country.

Their way of declaring War is this: They ſend back to

the Nation that they have a mind to quarrel with, a Slave of the ſame Country; with orders to carry to the Village of his own Nation an Axe, the Handle of which is painted red and black. Sometimes they ſend three or four ſuch Slaves, obliging them to promiſe before hand, that they ſhall not bear Arms againſt them; and commonly this Promiſe is religiouſly obſerv'd.[1]

It remains only to acquaint you how they make Peace; you muſt know that the Savages never think of an Accommodation till after a long War: But when they are ſenſible that 'tis their Intereſt to come to it they detach five, or ten, or fifteen, or twenty Warriors, to make a [83] Propoſal to the Enemies. Theſe Commiſſioners go ſometimes by Land, and ſometimes in Canows, and always carry the great Calumet of Peace in their Hand, much after the ſame manner as a Cornet carries his Standard. I ſet forth in my Seventh Letter what a profound Veneration all the Savages of *Canada* have for this famous Pipe. There was not one Inſtance of their Violating the Sacred Rights of this Pipe before the Embaſſy of *Chevalier Do*, at which time they took occaſion to revenge the Buſineſs of the *Rat*, as I gave you to know in my Seventeenth Letter. If the Commiſſioners of Peace march by Land, as ſoon as they arrive within a Musket-ſhot of the Village, ſome young Men march out and poſt themſelves in an oval Figure. This done, the Commiſſioner that carries that great ſign of Peace, makes up towards them, ſinging and dancing the Calumet Dance;

[1] This is a rare custom, the object being to surprise the enemy before he is prepared for war. — Ed.

which he continues to do while the old Men meet in Council. If the Inhabitants of the Village do not think it proper to accept of the Propoſal of Peace, their Orator or Speaker makes a Harangue to the Envoy that carries the Calumet, who upon that goes and rejoins his Company. This Pacifick Retinue is regal'd with Preſents of Tents, Corn, Meat and Fiſh; but at the ſame time they are acquainted that they muſt depart their Country the next Day. If on the other Hand, the old Men agree to the concluſion of a Peace, they march out and meet the Commiſſioners, and after conducting the whole Company into the Village, provide them with extraordinary good Lodgings and a plentiful Table, during the whole courſe of the Negotiation. When the Commiſſioners come by Water they ſend out a Canow while the reſt lye by; and as ſoon as this Canow comes near to the Village, the Inhabitants [84] of the Village ſend out another to meet it, and conduct the Propoſer of Peace to their Habitations, where the Ceremonies are perform'd after the ſame manner as before.[1] This great Calumet is likewiſe made uſe of by the Confederate Savages, that demand Paſſage thro' the Country of their Allies, whether by Land or Water, in purſuance of Warlike or Hunting Expeditions.

[1] The person of an envoy was sacred among Indian tribes, and to maltreat one was the worst of insults. Dorsey describes similar ceremonies as persisting among the Omaha. U. S. Bur. of Eth. *Report*, 1881–82, p. 368. — Ed.

A View of the Heraldry, or the Coats of Arms of the Savages.

AFTER a perusal of the former Accounts I sent you of the Ignorance of the Savages with reference to Sciences, you will not think it strange that they are unacquainted with Heraldry. The Figures you have represented in this Cut will certainly appear ridiculous to you, and indeed they are nothing less: But after all you'l content your self with excusing these poor Wretches, without rallying upon their extravagant Fancies. They make use of the Blazoning represented in the Cut, for the following Purposes.[1]

When a Party of Savages have routed their Enemies in any Place whatsoever, the Conquerours take care to pull the Bark off the Trees for the height of five or six Foot in all Places where they stop in returning to their own Country; and in honour of their Victory paint certain Images with Coal pounded and beat up with Fat and Oyl. These Pictures,

[1] Lahontan's somewhat absurd and distorted description of Indian heraldry probably arose from his misconception of the institution of totemism — a primitive superstition by which each gens or clan of a tribe adopted some animal as a totem or mythical protector. One of the earliest uses of the term "totemism" was by John Long (see Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, ii, pp. 123–125), but there is now a large literature upon this subject. See M'Lennan, *Patriarchal Theory;* Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion* (London, 1887); Brinton, *Myths of New World;* and sociological articles in U. S. Bur. of Eth. *Reports*, already cited. — Ed.

which are deſign'd and explain'd in the inſuing Chapter, continue upon the peel'd Tree for ten or twelve [85] Years, as if they were Grav'd, without being defac'd by the Rain.

This they do to give all Paſſangers to underſtand what Exploits they have done. The Arms for the Nation, and ſometimes a particular Mark for the Leader of the Party, are painted in Colours upon theſe ſtrip'd Trees; and for that reaſon 'twil not be improper to ſubjoin a Deſcription of 'em.

The five *Outaouaſe* Nations have a *Sinople* or Green Field, with four Elks in Sable Canton'd, and looking to the four Corners of the Eſcutcheon, there being a heap of Sand in the middle.

The *Illineſe* bear a Beech Leaf with a Butterfly Argent.

The *Nadoueſſis* or *Scioux* have a Squirrel *Gules*, gnawing a Citron *Or*.

The *Hurons* bear a Beaver Sable, ſet ſquat upon a Beaver Kennel Argent, the midſt of a Pool or Lake.

The *Outagamis* bear a Meadow Sinople, croſs'd by a winding River Pale, with two Foxes Gules at the two Extremities of the River, in Chief and Point.

The *Pouteoutamis* call'd *Puants* bear a Dog in Argent, ſleeping upon a Mat *d' Or*. Theſe People obſerve the Rules of Blazoning leſs than the other Nations.

The *Oumamis* have a Bear Sable, pulling down with his two Paws a Tree Sinople moſſy, and laid along the Eſcutcheon.

The *Oucahipoues*, call'd *Sauteurs*, have an Eagle Sable, pearching upon the top of a Rock Argent, and devouring an Owl *Gules*.

[86] *An Explication of the Hieroglyphicks that ſtand oppoſite to the Letters A B C D E F G H I K, being plac'd at the ſide of a Column repreſenting the Foot of a ſuppos'd Tree.*

IF we take the Word *Hieroglyphick* in its natural Senſe, 'tis only a Repreſentation of Sacred and Divine Objects, Calculated according to the *Ideas* we have of 'em. But without any regard to the Etymology, I chooſe rather to make uſe of the common Priviledge of an infinity of Authors, in beſtowing the Title of Hieroglyphick Symbols upon all theſe Figures that correſpond to the following Letters.[1]

A. Oppoſite to this Letter you ſee the Arms of *France*, with an Ax above. Now the Ax is a Symbol of War among the Savages, as the Calumet is the Bond of Peace: So that this imports, that the *French* have taken up the Ax, or have made a Warlike Expedition with as many tens of Men as there are Marks or Points round the Figure. Theſe Marks you ſee are Eighteen in number, and ſo they ſignifie an Hundred and eighty Warriors.

[1] On the subject of picture writing see Mallery, "Picture-Writing of American Indians" in U. S. Bur. of Eth. *Report*, 1888–89; *Jes. Rel.*, lxvii, p. 227; Hoffman, "On Native Indian Pictographs," in Catholic University *Bulletin* (Washington), April, 1897. — Ed.

B. Over againſt this Letter you meet with a Mountain that repreſents the City of *Monreal*, (according to the Savages) and the Fowl upon the Wing at the top ſignifies Departure. The Moon upon the Back of the Stag ſignifies the firſt Quarter of the *July* Moon, which is call'd the *Stag-Moon*.

[87] *C.* Oppoſite to this Letter you deſcry a Canow, importing that they have travel'd by Water as many Days as you ſee Huts in the Figure, *i. e.* 21 Days.

D. Upon the ſame parallel with this Letter you ſee a Foot, importing that after their Voyage by Water they march'd on Foot as many Days as there are Huts deſign'd; that is, ſeven Days Journeys for Warriors, each Days Journey being as much as five common *French* Leagues, or five of thoſe which are reckon'd to be twenty in a Degree.

E. By this Letter you perceive a Hand and three Huts, which ſignifie that they are got within three Days Journey of the *Iroqueſe Tſonnontouans*, whoſe Arms are a Hut with two Trees leaning downwards, as you ſee them drawn. The Sun imports that they were juſt to the Eaſtward of the Village: For you muſt obſerve, that if they had march'd to the Weſtward the Arms of theſe Savages had been plac'd where the Hand is, and the Hand had been turn'd and plac'd where you now ſee the Hut with the two Trees.

F. Oppoſite to this Letter you perceive twelve Marks, ſignifying ſo many times ten Men, like thoſe at the Letter *A*. The Hut with the two Trees being the Arms of the *Tſonnontouans* ſhews that they were of that Nation; and the Man in a lying poſture ſpeaks that they were ſurpris'd.

G. In the row which anſwers to this Letter there appears a Club and eleven Heads, importing that they had kill'd eleven *Tſonnontouans*, and the five Men ſtanding upright upon the five Marks ſignifie, that they took as many times ten Priſoners of War.

[88] *H.* Oppoſite to this Letter you ſee nine Heads in an Arch, the meaning of which is, that nine of the Aggreſſors or of the Victorious ſide (which I ſuppoſed to be *French)* were kill'd; and the twelve Marks underneath ſignifie that as many were Wounded.

I. Oppoſite to this Letter you ſee Arrows flying in the Air, ſome to one ſide and ſome to the other, importing a vigorous Defence on both ſides.

K. At this Letter you ſee the Arrows all pointed one way, which ſpeaks the worſted Party either flying or fighting upon a Retreat in diſorder.

The meaning of the whole is in a few Words as follows. An Hundred and eighty *French* Men ſet out from *Monreal* in the firſt Quarter of the *July* Moon, and fail'd twenty one Days; after which they march'd thirty five Leagues over Land and ſurpris'd a hundred and twenty *Tſonnontouans* on the Eaſt ſide of their Village, eleven of whom were Kill'd, and fifty taken Priſoners; the *French* ſuſtaining the loſs of nine Kill'd and twelve Wounded, after a very obſtinate Engagement.[1]

[1] The drawings accompanying this description are evidently the work of a European quite unacquainted with Indian pictographs. For correct drawings of Indian representations of expeditions and battles, see illustrations in Mallery, *op. cit.*, pp. 552–556; Thwaites, "Atlas of Maximilien's Voyage," in *Early Western Travels*, xxv. — Ed.

This may ſerve to prompt you and me to return thanks to God for vouchſafing to us the means of expreſſing our Thoughts by the bare ranking of twenty three Letters, and above all of Writing in leſs than a Minute a Diſcourſe that the *Americans* cannot Decypher with their impertinent Hieroglyphicks in the ſpace of an Hour. Though the number of thoſe dark Symbols is of no large extent, yet 'tis very perplexing to an *European;* for which Reaſon I have contented my ſelf in learning only ſuch of 'em as are moſt Eſſential; the knowledge of which [89] I owe to Neceſſity more than Curioſity. I could ſend you others that are as extravagant as theſe I now ſend you; but conſidering that they will be of no uſe to you, I chooſe to ſave my ſelf the labour of drawing them upon Paper, and you the trouble of looking 'em over.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

[90] A

CONFERENCE

OR

DIALOGUE

BETWEEN THE

AUTHOR and *ADARIO*,

A Noted Man among the

SAVAGES.

CONTAINING

A Circumſtantial View of the Cuſtoms and Humours of that People.

Lahontan. I AM infinitely well pleas'd, my dear *Adario*, that I have an opportunity of reaſoning with you upon a Subject of the greateſt Importance; for my buſineſs is to unfold to you the great Truths of Chriſtianity.

Adario, I am ready to hear thee, my dear Brother, in order to be inform'd of a great many things that the Jeſuits have been Preaching up [91] for a long time; and I would have us to diſcourſe together with all the freedom that may be. If your Belief is the ſame with that of the Jeſuits,

'tis in vain to enter into a Conference; for they have entertain'd me with ſo many Fabulous and Romantick Stories, that all the credit I can give 'em, is to believe, that they have more Senſe than to believe themſelves.

Lahontan. I do not know what they have ſaid to you; but I am apt to believe that their Words and mine will agree very well together. The Chriſtian Religion is a Religion that Men ought to profeſs in order to obtain a place in Heaven. God hath permitted the diſcovery of *America*, meaning to ſave all Nations that will follow the Laws of Chriſtianity. 'Twas his Divine Pleaſure that the Goſpel ſhould be Preach'd to thy Nation, that they may be inform'd of the true way to Paradiſe, the bleſſed Manſion of good Souls. 'Tis pity thou wilt not be perſwaded to make the beſt uſe of the Favours and the Talents that God hath beſtow'd upon thee. Life is ſhort; the Hour of our Death is uncertain, and Time is precious. Undeceive thy ſelf therefore, as to the imagin'd Severity of Chriſtianity, and imbrace it without delay, regrating the loſs of thoſe Days thou has ſpent in Ignorance, without a due ſenſe of Religion and Worſhip, and without the knowlege of the true God.

Adario. How do you mean, *without the Knowledge of the True God?* What! are you mad? Do'ſt thou believe we are void of Religion, after thou haſt dwelt ſo long amongſt us? Do'ſt not thee know in the firſt place, that we acknowledge a Creator of the Univerſe, under the Title of the Great Spirit or Maſter of Life; whom we believe to be in every thing, and to be unconfin'd to Limits? 2. That we own the Immor-

tality of the Soul.[1] [92] 3. That the Great Spirit has furniſh'd us with a Rational Faculty, capable of diſtinguiſhing Good from Evil, as much as Heaven from Earth; to the end that we might Religiouſly obſerve the true Meaſures of Juſtice and Wiſdom. 4. That the Tranquility and Serenity of the Soul pleaſes the Great Maſter of Life: And on the other hand, that he abhors trouble and anxiety of Mind, becauſe it renders Men Wicked. 5. That Life is a Dream, and Death the Seaſon of Awaking, in which the Soul ſees and knows the Nature and Quality of all things, whether viſible or inviſible. 6. That the utmoſt reach of our Minds can't go one Inch above the Surface of the Earth: So that we ought not to corrupt and ſpoil it by endeavouring to pry into Inviſible and Improbable things. This my dear Friend is Our Belief, and we act up to it with the greateſt Exactneſs. We believe that we ſhall go to the Country of Souls after death; but we have no ſuch apprehenſion as you have, of a good and bad Manſion after this Life, provided for the good and bad Souls; for we cannot tell whether every thing that appears faulty to Men, is ſo in the Eyes of God. If your Religion differs from ours, it do's not follow that we have none at all. Thou knoweſt that I have been in *France*, *New-York* and *Quebec;* where I Study'd the Cuſtoms and Doctrines of the *Engliſh* and *French*.[2] The *Jeſuits* allege, that out of five or ſix hun-

[1] On Indian religious beliefs, see pp. 435, note 1, *ante*.— Ed.

[2] For a brief biography of Adario see p. 149, note 2, *ante*. Lahontan is the only contemporary authority who speaks of the travels of this interesting savage; but a letter of 1691 mentions a Huron who is about to pass into France, and wishes to see the king. Possibly this may have been Adario, the most noted of his tribe. See *Canadian Archives*, 1885, p. lvi. — Ed.

dred ſorts of Religions, there's only one that is the good and the true Religion, and that's their own; out of which no Man ſhall 'ſcape the Flames of a Fire that will burn his Soul to all Eternity. This is their allegation: But when they have ſaid all, they cannot offer any Proof for it.

[93] *Lahontan.* They have a great deal of reaſon, *Adario*, to aſſert that there are bad Souls; for without ſtraggling far for a Proof, they need only to give thine for an Inſtance. He that is unacquainted with the Truths of the *Chriſtian Religion*, is not capable of receiving a Proof. All that thou haſt offer'd in thy own defence is prodigious Madneſs. The Country of Souls that thou ſpeakeſt of is only a Chimerical Hunting Country: Whereas our Holy Scriptures inform us of a Paradiſe, Seated above the remoteſt Stars, where God does actually reſide; being incircled with Glory, and the Souls of all the Faithful Chriſtians. The ſame very Scriptures make mention of a Hell, which we take to be Situated in the Centre of the Earth: And in which the Souls of all ſuch as reject Chriſtianity, as well as thoſe of bad Chriſtians, will burn for ever without Conſumption. This is a Truth that you ought to think of.

Adario. Theſe Holy Scriptures that thou quoteſt every foot, as well as the *Jeſuits*, require that mighty Faith which the Good Fathers are always teazing us with. But this can be nothing but a perſuaſion: To believe, Imports no more than to be perſuaded of a thing: and to be perſuaded or convinc'd, is to ſee a thing with one's eyes, or to have it recommended by clear and ſolid Truths. Now how can I have that Faith,

ſince thou canſt neither prove a tittle of what thou ſay'ſt, nor ſhew it me before my eyes. Believe me, my Friend; do not wrap up thy Mind in obſcurity; give over the viſionary thoughts of theſe Holy Scriptures, or elſe let us make an end of our Conferences upon that Head; for according to our Principles, we muſt have probability in every thing we admit of. What Ground haſt thou for the Deſtiny of the good Souls, who are [94] lodg'd with the Great Spirit above the Stars, or the Fate of the bad ones that ſhall burn for ever in the Centre of the Earth? Thou canſt not but charge God with Tyranny, if thou believeſt that he Created but one ſingle Man, with intent to render him eternally Miſerable amidſt the Flames in the Centre of the Earth. I know you'll pretend, that the Holy Scriptures prove that Great Truth: But granting it to be ſo, then the Earth muſt be of eternal Duration; which the *Jeſuits* deny. That flaming Place muſt therefore ceaſe to be, when the Earth comes to be conſum'd. Beſides, how canſt thou imagine, that the Soul which is a pure Spirit, a thouſand times ſubtiler and lighter than Smoak; how canſt thou imagine, I ſay, that this airy Being ſhould move to the Centre of the Earth, contrary to its natural tendency? 'Tis more likely, it ſhould mount upwards and fly to the Sun, where you may fix that fiery place more reaſonably; eſpecially conſidering that this Star is much bigger, and infinitely more hot than the Earth.

Lahontan. Hark ye me, my dear *Adario*, thy Blindneſs is ſcrew'd up to an extremity, and the hardneſs of thy Heart makes thee reject this Faith and theſe Scriptures; the truth

of which does eaſily appear, if one would but lay aſide Prejudices: For you have nothing to do but to caſt your Eye upon the Prophecies contain'd in the Sacred Pages; which beyond all diſpute were Written before they came to paſs. This Sacred Hiſtory is confirm'd by *Heathen* Authors, and by the Monuments of greateſt Antiquity, and thoſe the moſt unconteſted that paſt Ages can afford. Believe me, if thou wouldſt but reflect upon the manner in which the Religion of *Jeſus Chriſt* was Eſtabliſh'd in the World, and the Change that it wrought; if thou hadſt but a juſt view of the [95] Characters of Truth, Sincerity and Divinity that ſhine in the Scriptures: In a word, if thou didſt but enter into the particulars of our Religion; thou wouldſt ſee and be ſenſible, that its Doctrines and Precepts, its Promiſes and Threats, are not chargeable with any abſurdity; nor with any ill deſign, or any thing that runs contrary to our natural Sentiments: And that nothing is more ſuitable to right Reaſon, and the Principles of Conſcience.

Adario. This is the ſame Stuff that the *Jeſuits* have had up above a hundred times. They will have it, that ſome five or ſix thouſand years ago, all that is ſince come to paſs, was then unchangeably decreed. They lay down the way in which the Heavens and the Earth were Created; and tell you, that Man was made of the Duſt of the Earth, and the Woman out of one of his Ribs, as if God had not made her of the ſame Stuff; that a Serpent tempted this Man in a Garden of Fruit-Trees to eat of an Apple, which was the occaſion that the Great Spirit put his own Son to Death, on purpoſe to ſave

all men. If I ſhould ſay that theſe advances have a greater appearance of fabulouſneſs than of truth, you would cloſe upon me with Reaſons fetch'd from your Bible: But according to your own words, this Scripture of yours had not always a Being; the invention of it bears the date of ſome three thouſand years ago; and 'twas not Printed till within theſe four or five Centuries. Now, conſidering the divers events that come round in the courſe of ſeveral Ages, one muſt certainly be very credulous in giving credit to ſo many idle Stories as are huddled up in that great Book that the Chriſtians would have us to believe. I have ſeen ſome of the Books that the *Jeſuits* Writ of our Country; and thoſe who knew how to read [96] 'em, explain'd to me the ſenſe of 'em in the Language that I ſpeak; but I found they contain'd an infinity of Lyes and Fictions heap'd up one above another. Now, if we ſee with our eyes that Lyes are in Print, and that things are not repreſented in Paper as they really are; how can you preſs me to believe the Sincerity of your Bible that was Writ ſo many Ages ago, and Tranſlated out of ſeveral Languages by ignorant Men that could not reach the juſt Senſe, or by Lyars who have alter'd, interpolated, or pared the Words you now read. I could mention ſeveral other Objections, which in the end will perhaps influence thee in ſome meaſure, to own that I have ſome reaſon to confine my Belief to ſuch things as are viſible and probable.

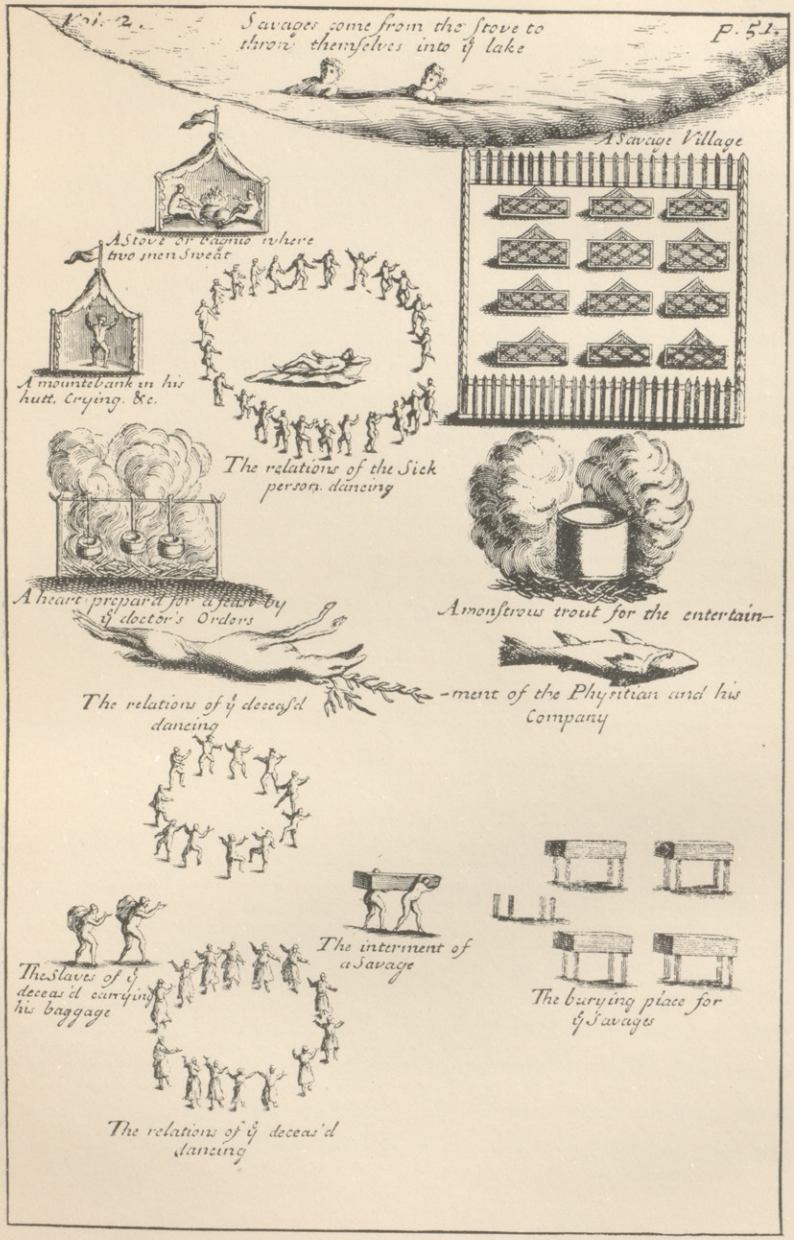
Lahontan. Poor *Adario*, I have laid before thee, the certainty and evidence of the Chriſtian Religion; but inſtead of being convinc'd, thou look'ſt upon my Proofs as Chimerical,

and offereſt the moſt fooliſh Reaſons in the World. You quote the Falſhoods Written in the Accounts of your Country that you have ſeen; as if the Jeſuits who Writ 'em could not have been impos'd upon by thoſe who ſupplied them with ſuch Memoirs.[1] You muſt conſider, that theſe Deſcriptions of *Canada* are Bawbles that cannot come into the Ballance with the Books that treat of Sacred things; ſuch things as a hundred different Authours have Writ of, without contradicting one another.

Adario. How do you mean, *without contradicting one another?* Why! That Book of Holy Things, is not it full of Contradictions? Theſe Goſpels that the Jeſuits ſpeak of, do not they occaſion diſcord between the *French* and the *Engliſh?* And yet if we take your word for it, every Period of that Book ſprung from the Mouth [97] of the Great Spirit. But if the Great Spirit mean'd that his Words ſhould be underſtood, why did he talk ſo confuſedly, and cloath his Words with an ambiguous Senſe? One or two things muſt follow from this advance. If he was born and died upon the Earth, and made ſpeeches here, why, then his diſcourſes muſt be loſt; for he would certainly have ſpoke ſo diſtinctly and plainly, that the very Children might conceive his meaning. Or, if you will have the Goſpels to be his genuine Words, and contain nothing but what flow'd from him; why, then he muſt have come to raiſe Wars in the World inſtead of Peace; which cannot be. The *Engliſh* have told me that tho' their Goſpels contain the ſame Words with the *French*, yet there's as great

[1] Upon the early Jesuit histories of Canada, see p. 412, note 1, *ante*. —Ed.

Vol. 2.


Savages come from the stove to throw themselves into ỹ lake
P. 51.
A Savage Village
A stove or bagnio where two men Sweat
A mountebank in his hutt. Crying. &c.
The relations of the Sick person dancing
A heart prepar'd for a feast by ỹ doctor's Orders
A monstrous trout for the entertain-
-ment of the Physitian and his Company
The relations of ỹ deceas'd dancing
The interment of a Savage
The Slaves of ỹ deceas'd carrying his baggage
The burying place for ỹ Savages
The relations of ỹ deceas'd dancing

a difference between their Religion and yours, as between Night and Day. They ſay poſitively that their's is the beſt; and on the other hand, the Jeſuits allege, that the Religion of the *Engliſh*, and of a thouſand Nations beſides, is good for nothing. If there be but one true Religion upon Earth, who muſt I believe in this caſe? Who is it that do's not take their own Religion to be the moſt perfect? How can the Capacity of Man be able to ſingle out that Divine Religion from amongſt ſo many more, that lay claim to the ſame Title? Believe me, my dear Brother, the Great Spirit is Wiſe, all his Works are perfect; 'tis he that made us, and he knows perfectly well what will become of us. 'Tis our part to act freely, without perplexing our thoughts about future things. He order'd thee to be Born in *France*, with intent that thou ſhouldeſt believe what thou neither ſeeſt nor conceiveſt; and me he has caus'd to be Born a *Huron*, to the end that I ſhould give credit to nothing but what I underſtand, and what my reaſon teaches me.

[98] *Labontan.* Reaſon teaches thee to be a Chriſtian, and yet you refuſe to be ſuch. If you would, you might underſtand the Truths of our Goſpel, in which all things are of a piece, and nothing can be found that ſavours of Contradiction. The *Engliſh* are Chriſtians as well as the *French;* and tho' theſe two Nations have ſome difference upon the ſcore of Religion, it only relates to ſome Paſſages of Scripture, that they underſtand different ways. The firſt and principal point that occaſions ſo many diſputes, is this. The *French* believe that ſince the Son of God ſaid, that his Body was in a morſel of Bread;

we are bound to take it for a truth, in regard that he could not lie. He told his Apoſtles that the Bread was truly his Body, and that they ought to eat it, and to perpetuate that Ceremony in Commemoration of him. Accordingly this Precept is obſerv'd; for ſince the death of that God made Man, the Sacrifice of the Maſs is perform'd every day among the *French*, who make no doubt of the real preſence of the Son of God in that bit of Bread. But the *Engliſh* pretend, that the Son of God being in Heaven, cannot be Corporally preſent upon Earth, and that his words inſuing upon that Inſtitution (the repetition of which would be tedious to thee) are evidence that he is only Spiritually preſent in the Bread. This is all the difference between them and us; for as to the other Points, they are ſo trifling, that we could eaſily come to an accommodation upon 'em.

Adario. I perceive then, the words of the Son of the Great Spirit are chargeable with ſelf-contradiction or obſcurity; for as much as you and the *Engliſh* diſpute about his meaning with ſo much heat and animoſity: And this ſeems to be the principal Spring of the hatred that theſe two [99] Nations bear to one another. But that is not what I inſiſt upon. Doſt thou hear, my Brother; both the one and the other muſt needs be fools, in believing the Incarnation of a God; conſidering the ambiguity of thoſe Diſcourſes mention'd in your Goſpel. There you meet with an infinity of things which are too groſs to come from the Mouth of ſo perfect a Being. The Jeſuits aſſure us, that the Son of the Great Spirit declar'd that he ſincerely deſired the Salvation of all Men.

Now, if he desires it, doubtless it must come to pass; and yet they are not all Sav'd neither, for as much as he has said; *many are call'd, but few are chosen.* This I take to be a plain Contradiction. The Fathers reply, that God does desire the Salvation of men, but upon the condition that they desire it themselves. But after all, we do not find that God has added that Clause, for if he had, he had not spoke so positively. But the Mystery lies here. The Jesuits have a mind to pry into the Secrets of the Almighty, and to assume what himself did not pretend to, for he mention'd no such condition. The case is the same, as if the great Captain General of the *French* should give notice by his Viceroy, that 'tis his pleasure that all the Slaves of *Canada* should be Transported to *France*, where they might all grow rich; and thereupon the Slaves should make answer that they will not go, because that great Captain cannot desire it unless they be of the same mind themselves. Is not it true, my Brother, that their answer would be ridicul'd, and they would be forc'd to go to *France* against their will? Can you offer anything to the contrary? In a word, the Jesuits have commented to me upon so many Expressions in that Book that contradict one another, that I'm amaz'd to find that they still call it the [100] Holy Scriptures. 'Tis written there, that the first man whom the Great Spirit made with his own Hands, did eat of a forbidden Fruit, for which both he and his Wife were punish'd, as being equally Criminal. Now, let's suppose the Punishment inflicted upon the account of the Apple to be what you will; this poor Man had nothing to complain of, but that the Great Spirit

knowing that he would eat of it, ſhould have Created him to be Miſerable. But let's conſider the caſe of his Poſterity, who according to the Jeſuits are involv'd in his Overthrow: Are the Children Blame-worthy for the Gluttony of their Father and their Mother? If a man Murder'd one of our Kings, muſt the Puniſhment reach to his whole Generation; to Fathers, Mothers, Uncles, Couſins, Siſters, Brothers, and all his other Relations? Shall we ſuppoſe, therefore, that when the Great Spirit gave this Man a Being, he knew not what he might do after his Creation? But that cannot be. But let's ſuppoſe again that all his Poſterity were accomplices of the Crime, (which at the ſame time is an unjuſt ſuppoſition) do's not your Scripture make this Great Spirit to be a Being of ſuch Mercy and Clemency, that his Loving-Kindneſs to the Human Race leaves all Conception far behind it? Is not he ſo great and ſo puiſſant, that if all the Spirits of men that either are, or have been, or are to come, were united in one Perſon, 'twould be impoſſible for that Mighty one to comprehend the leaſt tittle of his Omnipotence? Now, ſince his goodneſs and mercy are ſo tranſcendent, can't he by one Word vouchſafe a Pardon to that man and all his deſcendants? And ſince he is ſo powerful and great, how improbable is it, that ſuch an Incomprehenſible Being ſhould turn himſelf into a Man, and not only live a miſerable Life, [101] but die an infamous Death; in order to expiate the Sin of ſo mean a Creature, that is as much or more beneath him, as a Flie is beneath the Sun and the Stars? Where would that infinite Power be then? What uſe would it be of to him,

and what advantage would he make of it? To my mind, to believe the debaſing of the Divine Nature, ſpeaks a doubt of the Incomprehenſible reach of his Omnipotence, and an extravagant Preſumption with reſpect to our ſelves.

Lahontan. Do'ſt not thou perceive, my dear *Adario*, that the Great Spirit being ſo powerful, and intitled to the Perfections you have nam'd, the Sin of our Primitive Father muſt by conſequence be the moſt enormous and heinous Crime that imagination it ſelf can reach? To make the caſe plain by an example; If I beat one of my Soldiers, there's no harm done, but if I offer'd an affront to the King, my Crime would be inflam'd to the laſt degree, and be juſtly accounted unpardonable. Now, *Adam* having offer'd a piece of Indignity to the King of Kings, we come into the liſt of his Accomplices, as being part of his Soul; and conſequently the Divine Juſtice requires ſuch a Satisfaction as the Death of his Son. 'Tis true, God could have Pardon'd us with one Word; but for reaſons that I cannot give you eaſily to underſtand, he was graciouſly pleas'd to live and to die for all Mankind. I own that he is merciful, and that he might have acquitted Adam the ſame day that the Crime was committed; for his Mercy is the ground of all the hopes we have of Salvation: But if he had not reſented *Adam*'s Diſobedience, his Prohibition had been a jeſt. Had he overlook'd it, the conſequence would have been that he did not ſpeak ſeriouſly; and upon that foot, all the World would have had a juſt Plea for doing what they pleas'd.

[102] *Adario.* Hitherto thou proveſt nothing; and the

more I ſift the pretended Incarnation, I find it the leſs probable. What! To think that this Great and Incomprehenſible Being, the Creator of the Earth, of the Seas, and of this vaſt Firmament, ſhould be capable of debaſing himſelf ſo far, as to lye nine Months Priſoner in the Bowels of a Woman, and expoſe himſelf to the miſerable Life of his Fellow Sinners, that Writ the Books of your Goſpel; to be Beaten, Whip'd, and Crucify'd like an unhappy Wretch; this, I ſay, is what can't enter into my thoughts. 'Tis written, that he came upon the Earth on purpoſe to die there, and with the ſame Breath 'tis ſaid that he was afraid to die. This implies a Contradiction two ways. In the firſt place, if his deſign was to be Born, in order to die, he ought not to have dreaded death; for, what is the ground of the fear of death? The dread of death proceeds from this, that one do's not know what will become of 'em when they depart this Life. But he was not unacquainted with the place he was bound for, ſo that he had no reaſon to be afraid. You know very well that we and our Wives Poyſon our ſelves frequently, in order to keep one another Company in the Regions of the dead, when one or t'other is ſnatch'd away.[1] So you ſee plainly the loſs of Life does not ſcare us, tho' at the ſame time, we are not certain what courſe our Souls will ſteer. What anſwer canſt thee give me upon this Head? In a ſecond place; Since the Son of the Great Spirit was inveſted with a Power equal to that of his Father; he had no occaſion to pray his Father to

[1] Suicide by poisoning was not infrequent among Indians, although not deemed commendable. See *Jes. Rel.*, index, caption Suicide. — Ed.

ſave his Life, in regard that he was able to guard off Death by his own Power; and that in praying to his Father he pray'd to himſelf. As for my part, my dear Brother, I can't have any notion [103] of what thou wouldeſt have me to Conceive.

Lahontan. I find you were in the right of it in telling me but now, that your capacity would not reach an inch above the ſurface of the Earth. Your way of Reaſoning is ſufficient Proof of your Aſſertion. Now that I have heard this, I do not think it ſtrange that the Jeſuits have ſo much trouble in Preaching to you, and giving you to underſtand the Sacred Truths. I play the fool in reaſoning with a Savage, that is not capable of diſtinguiſhing a Chimerical Suppoſition from a certain and a ſtanding Principle, or a Conſequence well drawn from a falſe Inference. To give you an inſtance. When you ſpake of this truth, that God was willing to ſave all men, and at the ſame time that they are but few who are ſav'd; you charg'd a Contradiction upon it, and at the ſame time there's no ſuch thing in the caſe: For he deſires to ſave all men that wiſh their own Salvation, by obſerving his Law and his Precepts; that is, ſuch as believe his Incarnation, the truth of the Goſpels, the rewards provided for the Good, the puniſhments prepared for the Wicked, and a State of Futurity. But in regard that few ſuch will be found, all the reſt are doom'd to the everlaſting Flames of that Fire that you make a jeſt of. Take care you are not one of the latter Claſs. If it ſhould happen ſo, 'twould be a great trouble to me, becauſe thou art my Friend. You will not ſay then, that the Goſpel is cramm'd with Contradictions and Chimæra's; you will not

then require groſs Proofs for all the Truths I have laid before you; you'll repent in earneſt of having branded our Evangeliſts for weak and ſilly Tale-tellers. But, the worſt is, 'twill then be too late. Prithee, think of all this, and be not ſo very obſtinate; [104] for, in earneſt, if thou doſt not yield to the unconteſtable Reaſons that I produce for our Myſteries, I will never ſpeak to thee as long as I live.

Adario. Ha! my Brother, do not trouble thy head, I do not pretend to provoke thee by offering my Reaſons. I do not hinder thee to believe the Goſpels: I only beg the favour that thou'lt ſuffer me to doubt the truth of all the Advances thou haſt made. Nothing can be more natural to the Chriſtians than to believe the Holy Scriptures, upon the account, that from their Infancy they have heard ſo much of 'em, that in imitation of ſo many People Educated in the ſame Faith, they have 'em ſo much Imprinted upon their Imagination, that Reaſon has no farther influence upon their Minds, they being already prepoſſeſs'd with a firm belief of the truth of the Goſpels. To People that are void of Prejudice, ſuch as the *Hurons*, there's nothing ſo reaſonable, as to examine things narrowly. Now, after frequent reflexions for the courſe of ten years upon what the Jeſuits Preach'd of the Life and Death of the Son of the Great Spirit, I muſt tell you, that all my *Hurons* will give thee fourty reaſons to the contrary. As for my own part, I have always maintain'd that if 'twere poſſible that the Great Spirit had been ſo mean, as to deſcend to the Earth, he had ſhewn himſelf to all the Inhabitants of the Earth; he had deſcended in Triumph, and in publick view,

with Splendour and Majeſty; he had rais'd the dead, reſtor'd ſight to the blind, made the lame to walk upright, cur'd all the diſeaſes upon the Earth: In fine, he had ſpoke and commanded all that he had a mind to have done, he had gone from Nation to Nation to work theſe great Miracles, and to give the ſame Laws to the whole World. Had he done ſo, we had been all of the ſame [105] Religion, and that great Uniformity ſpread over the face of the Earth, would be a laſting Proof to our Poſterity for ten thouſand years to come, of the truth of a Religion that was known and receiv'd with equal approbation in the four Corners of the Earth. But inſtead of that Uniformity, we find five or ſix hundred Religions, among which that Profeſs'd by the *French*, is according to your Argument the only true one, the only one that is Good and Holy. In fine, after I had reflected a thouſand times upon thoſe Riddles that you call Myſteries, I was of the Opinion that a Man muſt be Born beyond the great Lake[1]; that is, he muſt be an *Engliſh-man* or a *French-man*, that can form any Idea of 'em. For when they allege that God, who can't be repreſented under any Figure; could produce a Son under the Figure of a Man: I am ready to reply, that a Woman can't bring forth a Beaver; by reaſon that in the courſe of Nature, every Species produces its like. Beſides, if before the coming of the Son of God all men were devoted to the Devil, what reaſon have we to think that he would aſſume the Form of ſuch Creatures as were liſted into the Service of the

[1] "Beyond the Great Lake" was a common rendition of the Indian term for the land across the ocean. — Ed.

Devil. Could not he take upon him another Form, which might be finer and more pompous than the Humane? That he might, is the more reaſonable, ſince the third Perſon of that Trinity (which is ſo inconſiſtent with Unity) aſſum'd the Form of a Dove.

Lahontan. Thou haſt drawn up a Savage ſort of a Syſtem by inventing Chimæra's that are nothing to the purpoſe. Give me leave to tell thee once more, that I ſee 'tis in vain for me to attempt to convince thee by ſolid Reaſons, in regard that thou art not capable of underſtanding 'em. I muſt therefore refer you to the Jeſuits. [106] In the mean time, I have a mind to give you to underſtand one thing that's very plain, and that will fall within the Verge of your Genius, *viz.* That 'tis not the bare believing of the Great Truths of the Goſpel which you deny, that is ſufficient to conduct one to the Manſions of the Great Spirit. Over and above the belief, one muſt inviolably obſerve the Precepts of the Law that is there deliver'd; that is to ſay, one muſt not adore any thing but the Great Spirit alone, one muſt not work on the days allotted for ſolemn Prayer, one muſt honour their Father and their Mother, and not only avoid the embraces of Girles, but be free from an inclination that way, unleſs it be upon the foot of Marriage. 'Tis requir'd for this end, that we ſhould not kill or promote the killing of any one; that we ſhould not ſpeak ill of our Brethren, or utter Lies, or touch another man's Wife, or incroach upon the property of our Brethren. We muſt go to Maſs on the days appointed for that purpoſe by the Jeſuits, and Faſt ſome days of the week. For tho'

you believ'd the Holy Scriptures as much as we do, unleſs you obſerve the Precepts they contain, you'll be doom'd to everlaſting Flames after your death.

Adario. So, my dear Brother, this is what I expected. 'Tis a long time ſince I knew all that thou haſt now ſet forth; and indeed I take it to be a very reaſonable Article in your Goſpel. Nothing can be juſter and more plauſible than thoſe Precepts you ſpeak of. You act diſingenuouſly in ſaying that unleſs the Commandments are punctually obſerv'd and practis'd, the giving Faith and Credit to the Goſpel will not avail: For, pray, how comes it about that the *French* believe the Goſpel, and yet make a jeſt of its Precepts. This I take to be a manifeſt Contradiction: [107] For, in the firſt place, as to the Adoration of the Great Spirit, I ſee no ſign of it in your Actions, ſo that your Worſhip conſiſts only in Words, and ſeems to be Calculated to cheat us. To give you an inſtance; do not you ſee every day that your Merchants when they bargain with us for Beaver-Skins, do commonly ſay, my Goods coſt me ſo much, 'tis true as I Adore the Almighty; I loſe ſo much by you, 'tis as true as that God is in Heaven. But I do not find that they offer him the Sacrifice of their moſt valuable Goods, as we do after we have bought 'em from them, when we burn 'em before their Faces. In the next place, as for Working on the days ſet apart for Worſhip, I do not find that you make any difference between Holy-Days and Work-Days; for I have frequently ſeen the *French* bargain for Skins on your Holy-Days, as well as make Nets, Game, Quarrel, beat one another, get Drunk, and commit a

hundred extravagant Actions. In a third place, touching the Veneration we have for our Fathers or Anceſtours, 'tis but ſeldom that you follow their Counſel; you ſuffer 'em to die for Hunger, you leave 'em and take up ſeparate Habitations; you are always ready to ask ſomething of 'em, but never to give 'em any thing; and if you expect any thing from 'em, you wiſh for their death; or at leaſt you expect it with impatience. In the fourth place, as for Continence with reſpect to the tender Sex; who is it among you (abating for the Jeſuits) that has ever acted up to it; do not we ſee every day that your Youths purſue our Daughters and our Wives, even to the very Fields, with a deſign to inveigle 'em by preſents? Do not they Roll every Night from Hutt to Hutt in our Village, in order to debauch 'em? And doſt not thee know how many ſuch Adventures [108] there are among thy own Soldiers? In the fifth place, to touch upon the head of Murder; 'tis ſuch a common thing among you, that upon the leaſt accident, you clap your Hands to your Swords and Butcher one another. I remember when I was at *Paris*, People were run thro' in the Streets every night; and upon the Road between *Paris* and *Rochel*, I was told that I was in danger of my life. Sixthly. Lying and Slandering your Brethren, is a thing that you can as little refrain as Eating and Drinking. I never heard four *French-Men* Converſe together, without ſpeaking ill of ſome body; and if you knew what I have heard 'em ſay publickly of the Viceroy, the Intendant, the Jeſuits, and of a thouſand People that you know, not excepting your Self, you would be convinc'd that the *French* are very well

vers'd in Defamations. And as to the buſineſs of Lying, I affirm it for a truth, that there is not one Merchant in this Country that will not tell you twenty Lies in ſelling the worth of a Beaver's Skin in Goods; not to mention the lies they invent in order to defame their Neighbours. In a ſeventh place, to adjuſt the Point of ingaging with Married Women, we need no other Proof than to hear your Diſcourſes when you have got a little Drink in your Heads; then you'll entertain us with a great many fine Stories of your Adventures that way. But to go no farther, pray reckon up how many Children are got upon the Wives of the *Coureurs de Bois* during their Husbands abſence. In the eighth place, to come to the Article of not encroaching upon our Neighbours Property, how many Thefts or Robberies have you ſeen committed among the *Coureurs de Bois* ſince you came to this Country? Have not the Thieves been taken in the Fact, and puniſh'd accordingly? Is not it ſuch a common [109] thing in your Towns, that one can't walk in the Streets in the Night time with ſafety, and that you dare not leave your Doors open? In the ninth place, as for going to your Maſs to hear ſome Words ſpoke in an unknown Language; 'tis true the *French* go commonly to it, but their deſign in going is to think of other things than Praying. At *Quebec*, the Men go to Maſs to pick up the Women, and the Women take the ſame Method to make Aſſignments with the Men. I have ſeen ſome of your Women call for Cuſhions, for fear of ſpoiling their Stockins and Petti-coats; then they ſit down upon their Heels, and pull a Book out of a great Bag, which they open

and hold in their hands, tho' at the ſame time, they look more at the Men they like, than at the Prayers contain'd in the Book. Moſt of your *French* People take Snuff when they're at Maſs; they talk, and laugh; and ſing rather for Diverſion than out of Devotion. And, which is yet worſe; I know that during the time of Maſs, ſeveral Women and Girles take the opportunity of purſuing their Amours, by ſtaying at home all alone. As for your Faſts, I muſt ſay they are very comical: You eat of all ſorts of Fiſh till you burſt again, you cram down Eggs and a thouſand other things, and yet you call this faſting. In fine, my dear Brother, you *French* Folks do all of you make large Pretenſions to Faith, and yet you are downright Infidels; you would fain paſs for wiſe People, and at the ſame time you are fools; you take your ſelves to be Men of Senſe, but at the bottom Ignorance and Preſumption is your true Character.

Lahontan. This concluſion, my dear Brother, ſavours too ſtrong of the *Hurons*, in being apply'd to all the *French* in general. If your repreſentation were juſt, ne're a one of 'em would go to [110] Paradiſe. But we know that there are Millions of 'em in the State of the Bleſſed, whom we call Saints, and whoſe Images you ſee in our Churches. I own that there are but few of the *French* who have that true Faith that's the only Principle of Piety; ſeveral make a Profeſſion of believing the Truths of our Religion, but this belief is wanting as to its due ſtrength and livelineſs. I own that the greateſt part of thoſe who know the Divine Truths, and make a Profeſſion of believing them, do act quite contrary to what

Faith and Religion injoyns. I cannot deny the juſtneſs of your Charge, in alleging a Contradiction upon 'em. But you muſt conſider, that ſometimes Men ſin againſt the light of their own Conſcience, and ſome Men lead wicked Lives that have receiv'd good Inſtruction. Now this may be owing either to their want of Attention, or to the force of their Paſſions, and the tyes they lye under to their Temporal Intereſt. Man being full of Corruption is ſway'd to evil by ſo many various motives, and by ſo ſtrong an inclination that way, that 'tis hard for him to renounce it, without an abſolute Neceſſity.

Adario. When you ſpeak of *Man*, you ought to ſay *French-Man;* for you know that the Paſſions, the Intereſt, and the Corruption we ſpeak of, are not known among us: But that is not the Point I would be at. Do ye hear, my Brother, I have talk'd frequently to the *French* of all the Vices that reign among them; and when I have made it out that they have no regard to the *Laws* of their *Religion*, they confeſs'd that 'twas true, and that they ſaw it plainly and knew it to be ſo; but at the ſame time they ſaid 'twas impoſſible for them to obſerve thoſe Laws: Upon that I ask'd 'em if they did not believe then that their Souls would be doom'd to eternal Flames; and receiv'd this anſwer, [111] *That the Mercy of God is ſo great, that whoever truſts in his Goodneſs ſhall be Sav'd; that the Goſpel is a Covenant of Grace, in which God condeſcends to the Condition and Weakneſs of Man, who is tempted by ſo many violent and frequent Attractives, that he is forc'd to give way; and that this World being a place of Corruption, there can be no Purity in Corrupt Man, unleſs it be in the Country where*

God reſides. This, I think, is a leſs rigid ſort of Morality than that of the Jeſuits, who ſend us to Hell for a Trifle. Your *French* Men have reaſon to ſay, *That 'tis impoſſible to keep that Law;* ſo long as the diſtinction of *Meum* and *Tuum* is kept up among you: You need no other proof for this than the Example of all the Savages of *Canada*, who notwithſtanding their Poverty are Richer than you, among whom all ſorts of Crimes are committed upon the ſcore of that *Meum* and *Tuum.*

Lahontan. I own, my dear Brother, that thou'rt in the right of it; and I can't but admire the Innocence of all the Savage Nations: And 'tis for that reaſon that I earneſtly wiſh they were acquainted with the Sanctity of our Scriptures, I mean, that Goſpel that thou and I have talk'd ſo much of. There's nothing wanting but that to render their Souls Eternally Happy. All of you live ſo Morally that you will then have but one Difficulty to ſurmount before you arrive at Paradiſe; I mean, that Cuſtomary Fornication that prevails amongſt the ſingle perſons of both Sexes, and the liberty that the Men and the Women take in breaking their Marriage Bonds, in order to a Reciprocal Change, and a freſh Choice. For the Great Spirit has ſaid, *That Death and Adultery are the only two things that can break that indiſſoluble Bond.*

[112] *Adario.* We ſhall take another Opportunity of Diſcourſing more particularly of that great Obſtacle that thou findeſt to ſtand in the way of our Salvation. In the mean time, I'll content my ſelf with giving thee one Reaſon with reſpect to one of the two Points that are mention'd, that is, the

liberty that Batchelors and Girls take with one another. In the firſt place the young Warrior will not Embarque in a Married State till he has made ſome Campaigns againſt the *Iroqueſe*, and took ſome Slaves to ſerve him either in the Village, or at Hunting, Fiſhing, *&c.* and till he is perfectly well vers'd in the Exerciſes of Hunting, Shooting and Fiſhing. Farther, he will not enervate himſelf by the frequent Exerciſe of Venery, at a time when his Strength enables him to ſerve his Nation in oppoſing their Enemies; not to mention that he will not expoſe a Wife and Children to the affliction of ſeeing him kill'd or taken Priſoner. Now, conſidering that 'tis impoſſible for a young Man to abſtain from the Embraces of Women altogether, you muſt not Cenſure the Youths for keeping Company with young Women once or twice a Month, nor the Girles for receiving their Addreſſes. Without that Liberty our Batchelors would be liable to great Diſorders, as Experience has taught me, with reference to ſeveral that obſerv'd a ſevere Continence to make 'em run the better; and beſides, our Daughters and young Women would be thereby tempted to a mean ſubmiſſion to the Embraces of Slaves.

Lahontan. Believe me, my dear Friend, God will not be ſatisfied with theſe Reaſons; he orders you either to Marry, or to entertain no Commerce with the Sex: For everlaſting Flames are entail'd upon one amorous thought alone, upon [113] one longing wiſh, one bare deſire to ſatisfie the brutiſh Paſſion. When thou faſtens upon Continence a Character of Impoſſibility, thou giveſt God the lie, for he injoyns nothing but what is poſſible. 'Tis in our Power to moderate our

Paſſions when we will; there's nothing requir'd towards that but our Good-will and Conſent. All Men that believe in God ought to obſerve his Precepts, and to reſiſt Temptations by the aſſiſtance of his Grace which never fails 'em. To inſtance in the Jeſuits, Doſt not thee think that when they ſee a pretty Girle in thy Village, they feel the Influence of Temptation as well as other Folks? Queſtionleſs they do; but they call in God to their Aſſiſtance; they paſs the whole courſe of their Lives, as well as all our Prieſts, without Marrying, or having any criminal Converſation with the tender Sex. When they put on the black Habit they make ſolemn Promiſes to God to that Effect. They wage an uninterrupted War with all Temptations, during the whole courſe of their Lives, and are oblig'd to reach the Kingdom of Heaven by Violence. When one therefore is apprehenſive of falling into that Sin, he can't avoid it better than by throwing himſelf into a Cloyſter.

Adario. I would not for ten Beaver Skins lye under an obligation of ſilence upon this Head. In the firſt place, that ſet of Men are guilty of a Crime in taking an Oath of Continence, for God having created an equal number of Men and Women, he mean'd that both the one and the other ſhould be imploy'd in the Propagation of Mankind. All things in Nature multiply, whether Trees, Plants, Birds, Beaſts, or Inſects. They repeat this Leſſon to us every Year, and ſuch Perſons as do not follow it are uſeleſs to the World, they do good to none but themſelves, [114] and rob the Earth of the Corn that feeds 'em, in regard that they convert it to no uſe, according to your Principles. A ſecond Crime that they are

guilty of conſiſts in violating their Oath (which they do but too commonly) and making a Jeſt of their Word and Promiſes to the Great Spirit. This Crime draws on one or two more, whether in Converſing with young Women or with other Men's Wives. If they keep Company with Girles, 'tis manifeſt that by Deflowring 'em they rob 'em of what they can never return; I mean, they rob 'em of that Flower, which the *French* have ſuch an itch to gather themſelves when they Marry, and which they look upon as ſo valuable a Treaſure, that a Robbery of that Nature is reckon'd a Crime of the higheſt demerit. Another Crime they are guilty of conſiſts in uſing the abominable precaution of doing things by halves to prevent Impregnation. If they court the Embraces of Married Women, they ſtand accountable for the Adultery, and for the Injury that the Woman does to her Husband. Farther; the Children ſpringing from thoſe Adulterous Embraces are Robbers and Interlopers, that live upon the Means of a pretended Father and half Brethren. In a fifth place, they are chargeable with the unlawful and prophane Methods that they take to ſtifle their Brutiſh Paſſion; for they being the Perſons that Preach your Goſpel, they give a quite different turn to things in private to what they do publickly, or elſe they could never find a Salvo for their Libertiniſm which the Vulgar take for a Crime. Thou art ſenſible, my Friend, that I ſpeak juſtly upon the Point, and that in *France* I have ſeen ſome of theſe Black Prieſts that would not hide their Talent under their Caps when they came into the Company of Women. [115] Give me leave, my dear Brother, to

tell thee once more that 'tis impoſſible for theſe Men to be without the Converſation of Women at a certain Age, and far leſs to be free from amorous Thoughts. As for that Reſiſtance and thoſe vigorous Efforts thou ſpeak'ſt of, that's but a frivolous and poor Plea, as well as their idle pretence of avoiding the Temptation by being mew'd up in a Convent. If Convents are Antidotes againſt Temptation, why do you ſuffer the young Prieſts and Monks to Confeſs Maids and Married Women? Is that the way to avoid the Temptation; or is it not rather a plain contrivance for a handſome Opportunity? What Man in the World can hear the Amorous Intrigues of the confeſſing Ladies, without being Tranſported, eſpecially if he be one of thoſe who injoy Health, Youth and Strength, who live without Fatigue or Working, and who encourage Nature with the moſt Nouriſhing Liquors and Food, ſeaſon'd with I do not know how many Drugs and Spices, that are ſufficient to inflame the Blood without any other Provocation? For my part, after a due Conſideration of theſe Articles, I ſhall not think it ſtrange if there be not ſo much as one Eccleſiaſtick in the Paradiſe of the Great Spirit. And pray, how have you the Confidence to maintain that this Cattel turn Monks and Prieſts in order to avoid Sin, when you know they are addicted to all manner of Vice? I have been inform'd by *French* Men of very good Senſe, that thoſe who enter into Prieſts or Monks Orders among you, have no other view than to live at their eaſe, without the fatigue of Work, and without the diſquieting fears of dying for Hunger or being oblig'd to venture their Lives in the

Army. If you would have your Prieſts good Men, they ought [116] to be all Married, and to live with their reſpective Families; or elſe they ſhould be all above Sixty Years of Age. Then indeed they might Confeſs, Preach and viſit Families without Scruple, and Edifie all the World by their Example. Then, I ſay, 'twould not be in their Power to ſeduce Maids or married Women; their Age and their Conduct would ſpeak them Wiſe, Moderate and Conſiderate; and at the ſame time the Nation would ſuſtain no loſs by their being ſet apart for Divine Service, in regard that after Sixty Years of Age they are not fit for Warlike Exploits.

Lahontan. I told you before, that you ought not to charge the whole World with the Miſdemeanours of a few. 'Tis true there are ſome who take upon 'em Monks or Prieſts Orders, with no other deſign than to ſubſiſt handſomely; and unmindful of the devoirs of their Miniſtry, think of nothing but calling in their yearly Rents. I own that ſome of 'em are Drunkards, and extravagant in their Actions and Words; that among ſome of 'em who are wedded to their Intereſt, Sordid Avarice bears the Aſcendant; that ſome are Proud and Implacable in the way of Reſentment; that ſome of 'em are Whore-maſters, Debauchees, Swearers, Hypocrites, Ignorant Fellows, Worldly minded, Backbiters, *&c.* But their number is but very inconſiderable with reſpect to the whole; for the Church receives none but the wiſer and graver ſort of Men, of whom they have ſome moral Aſſurances, and whom they try and endeavour to know throughly before they admit 'em: Tho' after all their precaution it can't be otherwiſe but

that they muſt be impos'd upon ſometimes; and indeed this is a great Misfortune, for when the Conduct of Eccleſiaſticks is blacken'd with ſuch [117] Vices, it raiſes the greateſt Scandal that can be; the Sacred Word is polluted in their Mouths, the Laws of God are contemn'd, Divine Things are diſreſpected, the Office of the Miniſtry is debas'd, Religion in general is trampled under Foot, and the People ſhaking off the due regard to Religion give way to an uncontroul'd Licenciouſneſs. But in the mean time you ought to conſider, that in ſuch Caſes we take our Meaſures from their Doctrine more than from the Example of ſuch ſcandalous Eccleſiaſticks; we are not upon the ſame lay with you who have not the neceſſary Diſcretion to diſtinguiſh the Doctrine from the Example, and to remain unſhaken by the Scandalous Lives of thoſe you ſaw at *Paris*, whoſe Converſation and Sermons were far from being of a piece. In fine, all that I have to ſay upon this Head, turns upon this, that the Pope having given expreſs Orders to our Biſhops not to confer the Eccleſiaſtical Dignity upon any unworthy Object, they take all the Precaution imaginable, and at the ſame time uſe their utmoſt Efforts to reclaim thoſe who have already gone aſtray.

Adario. I am ſurpris'd to find that you give all along ſuch ſuperficial Anſwers to all the Objections I have offer'd. I perceive that you court Digreſſions, and always depart from the Subject of my Queſtions. But ſince 'tis ſo, I'll come to the Pope then; and with reference to that Point, you muſt know that one Day at *New York* an *Engliſh*-man gave me to know that the Pope was ſuch another Man as he or I was;

but that he ſent every body to Hell that he Excommunicated; that he releas'd whom he pleas'd from a ſecond place of Torment, that it ſeems you have forgot, and open'd the Gates of the Great Spirit's Country to ſuch Perſons as he lik'd, as being [118] intruſted with the Keys of that upper Region. If all this be true, methinks all his Friends ſhould kill themſelves when he expires, that they may croud in along with him when he opens the Gates for himſelf; and if it be in his Power to ſend Souls to Hell, 'tis a dangerous thing to be rank'd in the number of his Enemies. At the ſame time, I was inform'd by that *Engliſh* Gentleman, that this Papal Authority had no footing in *England*, and that the *Engliſh* ridicul'd it. Now, prithee, tell me whether this *Engliſh* Chriſtian ſpoke the truth, or not.

Lahontan. The unfolding of this queſtion would run me out to ſo wide a compaſs of things, that I ſhould not have done, not in fifteen days. The Jeſuits will ſatisfie you upon that point better than I can pretend to. However I'll take the liberty to ſay one thing, namely: That the *Engliſh* Man rally'd and jeer'd while he mention'd ſome things that were true. He had a great deal of reaſon to perſuade you that thoſe of his Religion, did not depend upon the Pope for their Paſſage to Heaven, becauſe that lively Faith which you and I ſpoke of before, conducts 'em thither without any regard to that holy Man. The Son of God is willing to ſave all the *Engliſh* by his Blood and Merits. And thus you ſee that they are happier than the *French*, of whom God has requir'd good Works that they ſcarce ever mind, and who are doom'd to

everlaſting Flames, if their evil Actions run counter to the above mention'd Commandments of God; tho' at the ſame time, both they and we are of the ſame Faith. As to the ſecond flaming place, which we call *Purgatory*, they are exempted from the neceſſity of paſſing thro' it; becauſe they'd rather chooſe to continue upon Earth thro' all the Ages of Eternity without viſiting Paradiſe, than to Burn [119] for ſome thouſands of years by the way. They are ſo tender upon this point of Honour, that they'll never accept of any Preſent at the purchaſe of bearing ſome Baſtinadoes. According to their Notions of things, they do not take a man to be oblig'd by the giving him Mony and hard Uſage at the ſame time: This is rather an affront in their way. But the *French*, who are leſs nice upon the point; they take it for a mighty favour, that they're allowed to burn for an infinity of Ages in *Purgatory*, upon the apprehenſion that by that means, they will be better acquainted with the true value of Heaven. Now for as much as the Pope is the Creditor of the *Engliſh*, and demands Reſtitution of his own, they are far from asking his Pardons; that is, his Paſſports for removing to Heaven without touching at *Purgatory;* for if they did, he would order 'em a Paſs to that ſort of Hell, which they pretend was never made for 'em. But we *French* Folks that pay him good round Annuities, being acquainted with his Wonder-Working Power, and affected with a ſenſe of our Sins againſt God; we, I ſay, that lye under ſuch Circumſtances, muſt of neceſſity have recourſe to the Indulgences of that holy Man, in order to obtain a Pardon that he has Power to grant; for if one of us

be Condemn'd to lye forty years in *Purgatory* before he is remov'd to Heaven, why, 'twill coſt the Pope but one Word to get the Sentence Revers'd. In fine, to repeat once more what I ſaid before, the Jeſuits will inform you admirably well, of the Authority and Power of the Pope, and of the State of *Purgatory*.

Adario. I am at a loſs to know how to form a diſtinct Idea of the difference between you and the *Engliſh*, as to the point of Belief; for the more I endeavour to have it ſet in a clearer light, [120] the leſs light I find. To my mind, the beſt way for all of you is to agree upon this concluſion; That the Great Spirit has beſtow'd upon all Men, a Light ſufficient to ſhew 'em what they ought to do, without running the riſque of being impos'd upon: For I have heard that in each of theſe different Religions, there's an infinite number of Perſons of different Opinions. To inſtance in your Religion; every religious Order maintains certain Points that the reſt do not, and obſerves as great a diverſity in their Inſtitutions as in their Habits. This makes me think that in *Europe* every particular Man forms a peculiar Religion to himſelf, which differs from that which he outwardly profeſſes. As for my own part, I firmly believe that Men are not capable of knowing what the Great Spirit requires of 'em; and I can't diſſuade my ſelf from believing, that ſince the Great Spirit is ſo juſt and ſo good, 'tis impoſſible that his Juſtice ſhould render the Salvation of Mankind ſo difficult, as that all of 'em ſhould be Damn'd that are not retainers to your Religion, and that even few of the Profeſſors of it ſhould be admitted into Paradiſe. Believe me,

my Friend; the other World goes upon a lay that's quite different from what we have in this. Few People know what paſſes there: All *our* knowledge amounts only to this; That we *Hurons* are not the Authours of our own Creation, that the Great Spirit has vouchſaf'd us an honeſt Mould, while Wickedneſs neſtles in yours; and that he ſends you into our Country, in order to have an opportunity of Correcting your Faults, and following our Example. Purſuant to this Principle, my Brother, thou may'ſt believe as long as thou wilt, and have as much Faith as thou haſt a mind to: But after all, thou ſhalt never ſee the good Country of Souls, unleſs thou [121] turn'ſt *Huron*. The Innocence of our Lives, the Love we tender to our Brethren, and the Tranquility of Mind which we injoy in contemning the meaſures of Intereſt: These, I ſay, are three things that the Great Spirit requires of all Men in General. We practiſe all theſe Duties in our Villages, naturally; while the *Europeans* defame, kill, rob, and pull one another to pieces, in their Towns. The *Europeans* have a ſtrong mind to Inherit a Place in the Country of Souls, and yet they never think of their Creator, but when they diſpute with the *Hurons*. Fare well, my dear Brother; it grows late: I'll now retire to my Hutt, in order to recollect all the advances thou haſt made, that I may call 'em to mind to morrow, when I come to reaſon the Point with the Jeſuits.

Of Laws.

Labontan. WELL, my Friend; thou haſt heard what the Jeſuit had to ſay; he has ſet matters in a clear light, and made 'em much plainer than I could do. You ſee plainly there's a great difference between his Arguments and mine. We Soldiers of Fortune have only a ſuperficial knowledge of our Religion, tho' indeed we ought to know it better; but the Jeſuits have Study'd it to that degree, that they never fail of converting and convincing the moſt obſtinate Infidels in the Univerſe.

Adario. To be free with thee, my dear Brother, I could ſcarce underſtand one tittle of what he meant, and I am much miſtaken if he underſtands it himſelf. He has repeated the very [122] ſame Arguments a hundred times in my Hutt; and you might have obſerv'd, that yeſterday I anſwer'd above twenty times, that I had heard his Arguments before upon ſeveral occaſions. But, what I take to be moſt ridiculous, he teazes me every minute to get me to interpret his Arguments, word for word, to my Countrymen; upon the Plea that a Man of my Senſe may find out in his own Language, more ſignificant terms, and render the meaning of his Words more Intelligible, than a Jeſuit who is not throughly Maſter of the *Huron* Language. You heard me tell him, that he might Baptiſe as many Children as he pleas'd, tho' at the

ſame time he could not give me to know what Baptiſm was. He may do what he pleaſes in my Village; let him make Chriſtians, and Preach, and Baptiſe if he will; I ſhall not hinder him. But now, methinks, we have had enough of Religion, let us therefore talk a little of what you call Laws; for you know that we have no ſuch Word in our Language; tho' at the ſame time, I apprehend the force and importance of the Word, by vertue of the explication I had from you t'other day, together with the examples you mention'd, to make me conceive what you meant. Prithee tell me, are not Laws the ſame as juſt and reaſonable Things? You ſay they are. Why then, to obſerve the Law, imports no more than to obſerve the meaſures of Reaſon and Juſtice: And at this rate you muſt take juſt and reaſonable things in another ſenſe than we do; or if you take 'em in the ſame ſenſe, 'tis plain you never obſerve 'em.

Lahontan. Theſe are fine Diſtinctions indeed, you pleaſe your ſelf with idle Flams. Haſt not thee the Senſe to perceive, after twenty Years Converſation with the *French*, that what the *Hurons* [123] call Reaſon is Reaſon among the *French*. 'Tis certain that all Men do not obſerve the Laws of Reaſon, for if they did there would be no occaſion for Puniſhments, and thoſe Judges thou haſt ſeen at *Paris* and *Quebec* would be oblig'd to look out for another way of Living. But in regard that the good of the Society conſiſts in doing Juſtice and following theſe Laws, there's a neceſſity of puniſhing the Wicked and rewarding the Good; for without that Precaution Murthers, Robberies and Defamations would ſpread

every where, and in a Word, we ſhould be the moſt miſerable People upon the Face of the Earth.

Adario. Nay, you are miſerable enough already, and indeed I can't ſee how you can be more ſuch. What ſort of Men muſt the *Europeans* be? What Species of Creatures do they retain to? The *Europeans*, who muſt be forc'd to do Good, and have no other Prompter for the avoiding of Evil than the fear of Puniſhment. If I ask'd thee, what a Man is, thou wouldſt anſwer me, *He's a Frenchman*, and yet I'll prove that your *Man* is rather a *Beaver*. For *Man* is not intitled to that Character upon the ſcore of his walking upright upon two Legs, or of Reading and Writing, and ſhewing a Thouſand other Inſtances of his Induſtry. I call that Creature a *Man*, that hath a natural inclination to do Good, and never entertains the thoughts of doing Evil. You ſee we have no Judges; and what's the reaſon of that? Why? We neither quarrel nor ſue one another. And what's the reaſon that we have no Law Suits? Why? Becauſe we are reſolved neither to receive nor to know Silver. But why do we refuſe admiſſion to Silver among us? The reaſon is this: We are reſolv'd to have no Laws, for ſince the World [124] was a World our Anceſtors liv'd happily without 'em. In fine, as I intimated before, the Word *Laws* does not ſignifie juſt and reaſonable things as you uſe it, for the Rich make a Jeſt of 'em, and 'tis only the poor Wretches that pay any regard to 'em. But, pray, let's look into theſe *Laws*, or reaſonable things, as you call 'em. For theſe Fifty Years, the Governors of *Canada* have ſtill alledg'd that we are ſubject to the Laws of their great Captain. We

content our ſelves in denying all manner of Dependance, excepting that upon the Great Spirit, as being born free and joint Brethren, who are all equally Maſters: Whereas you are all Slaves to one Man. We do not put in any ſuch Anſwer to you, as if the *French* depended upon us; and the reaſon of our ſilence upon that Head is, that we have no mind to Quarrel. But, pray tell me, what Authority or Right is the pretended Superiority of your great Captain grounded upon? Did we ever ſell our ſelves to that great Captain? Were we ever in *France* to look after you? 'Tis you that came hither to find out us. Who gave you all the Countries that you now inhabit, by what Right do you poſſeſs 'em? They always belong'd to the *Algonkins* before. In earneſt, my dear Brother, I'm ſorry for thee from the bottom of my Soul. Take my advice, and turn *Huron;* for I ſee plainly a vaſt difference between thy Condition and mine. I am Maſter of my own Body, I have the abſolute diſpoſal of my ſelf, I do what I pleaſe, I am the firſt and the laſt of my Nation, I fear no Man, and I depend only upon the Great Spirit: Whereas thy Body, as well as thy Soul, are doom'd to a dependance upon thy great Captain; thy Vice-Roy diſpoſes of thee; thou haſt not the liberty of doing what thou haſt a mind to; thou'rt affraid of Robbers, [125] falſe Witneſſes, Aſſaſſins, *&c.* and thou dependeſt upon an infinity of Perſons whoſe Places have rais'd 'em above thee. Is it true, or not? Are theſe things either improbable or inviſible? Ah! my dear Brother, thou ſeeſt plainly that I am in the right of it; and yet thou chooſeſt rather to be a *French* Slave than a free *Huron*. What a fine

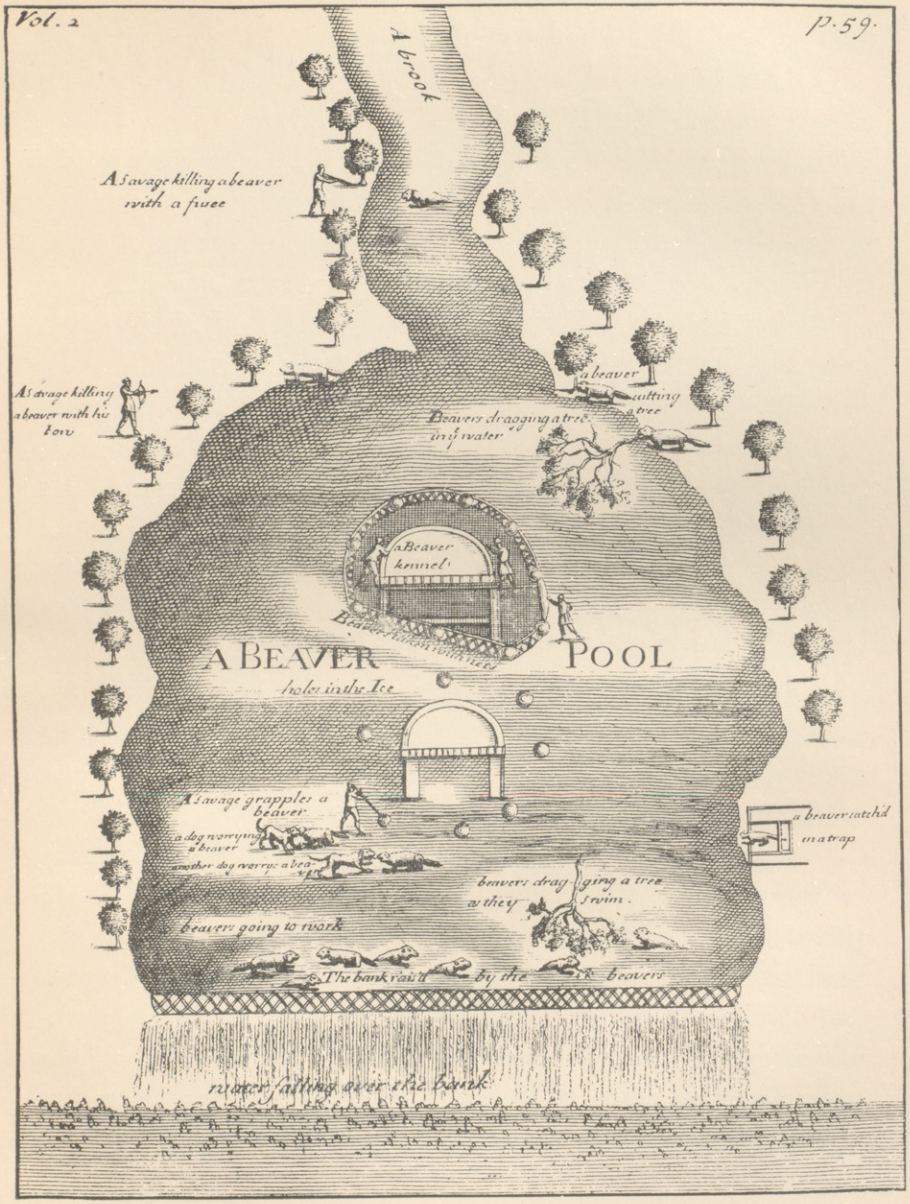
Spark does a *Frenchman* make with his fine Laws, who taking himſelf to be mighty Wiſe is aſſuredly a great Fool; for as much as he continues in Slavery and a ſtate of Dependence, while the very Brutes enjoy that adorable Liberty, and like us fear nothing but Foreign Enemies.

Lahontan. Indeed, my Friend, thy way of Reaſoning is as Savage as thy ſelf. I did not think that a Man of Senſe, who hath been in *France* and *New England*, would ſpeak after that Faſhion. What benefit haſt thou reap'd by having ſeen our Cities, Forts and Palaces? When thou talk'ſt of ſevere Laws, of Slavery, and a Thouſand other idle Whims, queſtionleſs thou preacheſt contrary to thy own Sentiments. Thou takeſt pleaſure in diſcanting upon the Felicity of the *Hurons*, a ſet of Men who mind nothing but Eating, Drinking, Sleeping, Hunting, and Fiſhing; who have not the enjoyment of any one Conveniency of Life, who travel four Hundred Leagues on Foot to knock four *Iroqueſe* on the Head, in a Word, who have no more than the ſhape of Men: Whereas we have our Conveniences, our unbending Diverſions, and a Thouſand other Pleaſures, which render the Minutes of our Life ſupportable. To avoid the laſh of thoſe Laws which are ſevere only upon wicked and criminal Perſons, one needs only to live honeſtly, and offer Injuries to no man.

[126] *Adario.* Ay, my dear Brother, your being an honeſt Man would not avail you; if two falſe Witneſſes ſwear againſt you, you'll preſently ſee whether your Laws are ſevere or not. Have not the *Coureurs de Bois* quoted me twenty inſtances of Perſons that have been cruelly put to death by the laſh of

your Laws, whoſe Innocence has appear'd after their death? What truth there is in their Relations, I do not pretend to know; but 'tis plain that ſuch a thing may happen. I have heard 'em ſay farther (and indeed I had heard the ſame thing in *France* before) that poor innocent Men are Tortur'd in a moſt horrible manner, in order to force 'em by the violence of their Torment to a Confeſſion of all that is charg'd upon 'em, and of ten times more. What execrable Tyranny muſt this be! Tho' the *French* pretend to be Men, yet the Women are not exempted from this horrid Cruelty, no more than the Men; both the one and the other chooſe rather to die once than to die fifty times. And indeed they are in the right of it: For if it ſhould happen that by the influence of extraordinary courage, they were capable of undergoing ſuch Torments without confeſſing a Crime that they never committed; what health, what manner of life can they enjoy thereafter? No, no, my dear Brother, the black Devils that the Jeſuits talk ſo much of, are not in the Regions where Souls burn in Flames, but in *Quebec* and in *France*, where they keep Company with the Laws, the falſe Witneſſes, the Conveniencies of Life, the Cities, the Fortreſſes and the Pleaſures you ſpoke of but now.

Labontan. The *Coureurs de Bois* and the other Sparks who told you ſuch Stories, without acquainting you with the other Circumſtances that they knew nothing of, are Block-heads that had [127] better have held their peace. I'll ſet the whole matter before thee, in its clear and natural colours. Suppoſe, two falſe Witneſſes depoſe againſt a Man; they are


A brook
A Savage killing a beaver with a fuee
A Savage killing a beaver with his bow
a beaver cutting tree
Beavers dragging a tree in the water
A Beaver kennel
A BEAVER POOL
holes in the Ice
A Savage grapples a beaver
a dog worrying a beaver
another dog worrys a beaver
a beaver catchd in a trap
beavers dragging a tree as they swim.
beavers going to work
The bank raisd by the beavers
water falling over the bank

preſently put into two ſeparate Rooms, where they can't ſee or converſe with one another. Then they are examin'd one after another upon the Articles charg'd againſt the Perſon Arraign'd; and the Judges are of ſuch tender Conſciences, as to uſe their utmoſt efforts to diſcover whether one or both of 'em vary's, as to the Circumſtances. If they happen to perceive any falſity in their depoſitions, which is eaſily perceiv'd, they Sentence 'em to die without remiſſion. But if it appears that they are ſo far from contradicting, that they back one another, they are preſented before the Priſoner, to ſee if he has any Objection to make againſt 'em, and if he is willing to rely upon their Conſciences. If he has nothing to object, and if the two Witneſſes Swear by the Great Spirit, that they ſaw him Murder, Rob, *&c.* the Judges condemn him out of hand. As for Torture, 'tis never made uſe of, but when there's only one Witneſs, whoſe Oath can't infer Death; for the Law which requires the Teſtimony of two Men for a ſufficient Proof, looks upon the Atteſtation of one but as half a Proof. But at the ſame time, you muſt remark that the Judges take all imaginable Precaution to avoid the paſſing of an unjuſt Sentence.

Adario. I'm e'en as wiſe as I was; for when all comes to all, the two falſe Witneſſes have a perfect good underſtanding between themſelves, before they are brought to the Bar, and they are not to ſeek for the Anſwers they are to make: And I find the depoſition of one Scoundrel will put a Man to the Rack as well as that of an honeſt Man; who in my Opinion do's juſtly forfeit [128] the Character of Honeſty by ſuch a

depoſition, even when he has ſeen the Crime committed. The *French* are a fine ſort of People, who are ſo far from ſaving one another's Lives, like Brethren, that they refuſe to do it when 'tis in their power. But, prithee, tell me; what doſt thou think of theſe Judges? Is it true that ſome of 'em are ſo ignorant as they are ſaid to be; and that others are ſo Wicked as to pronounce unjuſt Judgments contrary to their own Conſciences; with intent to favour a Friend, or to oblige a Miſtreſs or a great Lord, or to hook in Mony. I foreſee thou'lt reply that the Allegation is falſe, and that Laws are juſt and reaſonable things. But at the ſame time, I know 'tis as true as that we are here; for a Man that demands his Eſtate of another who is unjuſtly poſſeſs'd of it, and makes the Innocence of his Cauſe to appear as clear as the Sunſhine; that very Man, I ſay, ſhall never make any thing of his Suit; if the great Lord, the Miſtreſs, the Friend, and the Mony buſineſs, ſpeak on the Adverſary's behalf, to the Judges who are empower'd to decide the Cauſe. The ſame is the caſe of perſons Arraign'd for Crimes. Ha! Long live the *Hurons;* who without Laws, without Priſons, and without Torture, paſs their Life in a State of Sweetneſs and Tranquility, and enjoy a pitch of Felicity to which the *French* are utter Strangers. We live quietly under the Laws of Inſtinct and innocent Conduct, which wiſe Nature has imprinted upon our Minds from our Cradles. We are all of one Mind; our Wills, Opinions and Sentiments obſerve an exact Conformity; and thus we ſpend our Lives with ſuch a perfect good underſtanding, that no Diſputes or Suits can take place amongſt us.

But how unhappy are you in being expos'd to the laſh of Laws, which your ignorant, [129] unjuſt, and vicious Judges break in their private Actions, as well as in the Adminiſtration of their Offices? Theſe are your juſt and equitable Judges; who have no regard to Right; who make their Intereſt the Standard of their Conduct, in the way of their Office; who have nothing in view but the Inriching of themſelves; who are not acceſſible by any but the Dæmon of Silver; who never adminiſter Juſtice, but thro' a Principle of Avarice or Paſſion; who give Countenance to Crimes, and ſet aſide Juſtice and Honeſty, in order to give a full range to Cheating, Quarrelling, and the carrying on of tedious Law Suits, to the abuſe and violation of Oaths, and to an infinity of other Diſorders. This is the practice of theſe doughty Aſſertors of the fine Laws of the *French* Nation.

Labontan. I gave you to know before, that you ought not to give credit to all that every Fool whiſpers in your Ear. You give Ear to ſome Blockheads that have not a tincture of Common Senſe, and that ſpread lies under the notion of truths. Theſe bad Judges, that they ſpeak of, are as uncommon as white Beavers; for 'tis a queſtion if there are four ſuch in all *France.* Our Judges are men that love Vertue, and have Souls to be ſav'd as well as thee and I; being inveſted with a publick Capacity, they are to anſwer for their Conduct before a Judge that has no reſpect to Perſons, and before whom the greateſt Monarch is no more than the meaneſt Slave. There's ſcarce any of theſe Men, who would not chooſe to die, rather than wound their Conſcience or violate the Laws. Mony is

too baſe a Metal to tempt 'em, and Women warm 'em no more than the Ice. Friends and great Lords make leſs Impreſſion upon their Minds, than the Waves upon the Rocks. They curb Libertiniſm, [130] they redreſs Diſorders, and do Juſtice to all that Sue for it; without the leaſt regard to what we call Intereſt. As for my own part, I have loſt my whole Eſtate by being caſt in three or four Law-Suits at *Paris;* but I would be loth to believe that the Judges are in fault, notwithſtanding that my Adverſaries found both Mony and Friends to back bad Cauſes. 'Twas the Law that gave it againſt me, and I take the Law to be juſt and reaſonable, imputing my ſurprize upon the matter, to my unacquaintednes with that Study.

Adario. I proteſt I don't underſtand one word of what thou haſt ſaid; for I know the contrary of what thou ſayeſt to be true, and thoſe who inform'd me ſo of the Judges are Men of undiſputed Honour and Senſe. But if no body had given me any ſuch Information, I am not ſo dull Pated as not to ſee with my own Eyes, the Injuſtice of your Laws and your Judges. I'll tell thee one thing my dear Brother; I was a going one day from *Paris* to *Verſailles*, and about half way, I met a Boor that was going to be Whipt for having taken Partridges and Hares with Traps. Between *Rochel* and *Paris*, I ſaw another that was Condemn'd to the Gally's for having a little Bag of Salt about him. Theſe poor Men were puniſh'd by your unjuſt Laws, for endeavouring to get Suſtenance to their Families; at a time when a Million of Women were got with Child in the abſence of their Husbands, when the Phyſi-

cians Murder'd three fourths of the People, and the Gameſters reduc'd their Families to a Starving Condition, by loſing all they had in the World; and all this with Impunity. If things go at this rate, where are your juſt and reaſonable Laws; where are thoſe Judges that have a Soul to be Sav'd as well as you and I? After this, [131] you'll be ready to Brand the *Hurons* for Beaſts. In earneſt, we ſhould have a fine time of it if we offer'd to puniſh one of our Brethren for killing a Hare or a Partridge; and a glorious ſight 'twould be, to ſee our Wives inlarge the number of our Children, while we are ingag'd in Warlike Expeditions againſt our Enemies; to ſee Phyſicians Poiſon our Families, and Gameſters loſe the Beaver Skins they've got in Hunting. In *France*, theſe things are look'd upon as trifles, which do not fall within the Verge of their fine Laws. Doubtleſs, they muſt needs be very blind, that are acquainted with us, and yet do not imitate our Example.

Lahontan. Very fine, my dear Friend; thou goeſt too faſt; believe me, thy Knowledge is ſo confin'd, as I ſaid before, that thy Mind can't reach beyond the appearances of things. Wouldſt thou but give Ear to Reaſon, thou wouldſt preſently be ſenſible that we act upon good Principles, for the ſupport of the Society. You muſt know, the Laws Condemn all without exception, that are guilty of the Actions you've mention'd. In the firſt place, they prohibit the Peaſants to kill Hares or Partridges, eſpecially in the Neighbourhood of *Paris;* by reaſon that an uncontroul'd liberty of Hunting, would quickly exhauſt the whole Stock of thoſe Animals. The Boors Farm the Grounds of their Landlords, who reſerve to themſelves

the Priviledge of Hunting, as being Maſters. Now, if they happen to kill Hares or Partridges, they not only rob their Maſters of their Right, but fall under the Prohibition enacted by the Law: And the ſame is the Caſe of thoſe who run Salt, by reaſon that the Right of Tranſporting it is ſolely lodg'd in the King. As to the Women and the Gameſters that you took notice of; you can't think ſure that [132] we'd ſhut 'em up in Priſons and Convents, and Condemn 'em to a perpetual Confinement. The Phyſicians 'twould be unjuſt to abuſe, for of a hundred Patients they do not kill two; nay, on the contrary, they uſe their utmoſt efforts to Cure 'em. There's a neceſſity that Superannuated Perſons, and thoſe who are worn out, ſhould put a Period to their Lives. And after all, tho' all of us have occaſion to imploy Doctors, if 'twere prov'd that they had kill'd any Patient, either thro' Ignorance or Malice, the Law would not ſpare 'em no more than others.

Adario. Were theſe Laws obſerv'd, you would ſtand in need of a great many Priſons; but I ſee plainly that you do not ſpeak all the truth, and that you're afraid of carrying the Thing farther, leaſt my Reaſons ſhould put you to a ſtand. However, let's now caſt our eyes upon thoſe two Men who fled laſt year to *Quebec*, to avoid the being Burnt in *France*. If we look narrowly into their Crime, we'll find occaſion to ſay, that *Europe* is peſter'd with a great many fooliſh Laws.[1] But, to

[1] Sorcery was at this period a statutory crime in France, liable to be punished with death by burning. There was a considerable revival of the fear of witchcraft under Louis XIV, the last law passed upon the subject being the edict of 1682. As late as 1731, a Jesuit was condemned by the parlement of Provence to be burned for sorcery.—ED.

ſpeak to the purpoſe; theſe two *French* Men were Branded for Jugglers, pretended Magicians, and charg'd with the Crime of playing Magical Tricks. Now, what harm have theſe poor Fellows done; perhaps they have had a fit of Sickneſs, that has brought 'em into that State of Simplicity and Folly, as it happens ſometimes among us. Prithee tell me, what harm do our Jugglers do? When a Patient is recommended to 'em, they ſhut themſelves up all alone in a little Hutt, where they Sing, Roar, and Dance, and utter ſome extravagant Expreſſions; then they give the Patient's Relations to know, that they muſt prepare a Feaſt for Solaceing the Patient; and this Feaſt conſiſts of Fleſh or Fiſh, according to the Humour of this Juggler, who is only an imaginary [133] Phyſician, whoſe Head has been turn'd by ſome hot Feaver or other. You ſee we rally upon 'em in their abſence, and ſee thro' the Impoſture; you are ſenſible that they are as fooliſh in their Actions as in their Words, and that they never go upon Hunting or Warlike Expeditions: And why would you Burn the poor Wretches, that in your Country fall under the ſame Misfortune?

Lahontan. There's a great deal of difference between our Jugglers and yours: Thoſe of that Profeſſion among us, have interviews with the evil Spirit, and feaſt with him every Night; by vertue of their Witchcraft, they hinder a Man from Imbracing his own Wife; by putting a certain Charm into the Victuals or Drink of Vertuous and Wiſe Ladies, they draw 'em to Debauchery; they Poyſon the Cattel, they blaſt the Product of the Earth, they cauſe Men to die in a languiſh-

ing Condition, and a Big-Belly'd Woman to Miſcarry: In fine, they do an infinity of miſchievous Actions, which I have not nam'd. This ſet of Men calls themſelves Inchanters and Sorcerers; but there's another ſort that is yet worſe, namely, the Magicians, who converſe in a familiar way with the evil Spirit, and get him to appear in what Figure they pleaſe, to thoſe who have the curioſity to ſee him. They have ſecret Charms that will procure good Luck at Gaming, and Inrich thoſe upon whom they are beſtow'd; they foretel Futurities, and have the Power to transform themſelves into all ſorts of Animals, and the moſt frightful Figures; they run about to certain Houſes, where they make a fearful Howling, interlac'd with Cries and diſmal Moans, and appear to be as tall as the loftyeſt Trees, with Chains on their Feet, and Serpents in their Hands: In fine, they do ſo terrify [134] the People, that they are forc'd to have recourſe to the Prieſts, for their Exorciſms; upon the apprehenſion that theſe Apparitions are Souls come from *Purgatory* to this World, to beg ſome Maſſes which are neceſſary for their Tranſlation into the Preſence of the Almighty. Now, take all theſe Articles together, you will not think it ſtrange, that we Burn 'em without Mercy, purſuant to the Tenor of our Laws.

Adario. Is it poſſible, that you believe ſuch idle Stories? Sure, you only rally to ſee what I would anſwer. Theſe Stories ſeem to be of a piece with thoſe I have Read in the * Books of ſpeaking Animals. Some of our *Coureurs de Bois* Read theſe idle Fictions every day; and I'm much miſtaken if what you now ſpeak of, is not Writ-

**Æſop's Fables.*

ten in theſe Books: For, one muſt be a Fool that believes that the evil Spirit is inveſted with the Power of coming upon the Earth; ſuppoſing it to be true that he is ſuch as the Jeſuits repreſent him. No Creature can ſubſiſt out of its own Element: Fiſh die when forc'd upon the Land, and Man expires when under Water. How can you imagine then that the Devil can live out of his Element, which is Fire? Beſides, If he could come upon the Earth, he would do miſchief enough by himſelf, without imploying theſe Sorcerers; and if he convers'd with one Man, he would be ready to converſe with many others; for conſidering that in your Country the wicked out-number the good, every one of you would then turn Sorcerer, and ſo all would go to Deſtruction together; the World would be turn'd upſide down; and in a word, a remedyleſs Diſorder would enſue. Doſt not thee know, my Brother, that to credit ſuch idle Whims, is an affront offer'd to the Great Spirit; in regard that it charges him with Authoriſing [135] Miſchief, and being the direct Authour of all the abovemention'd Diſorders, by ſuffering the Evil Spirit to turn out of Hell? Since the Great Spirit is ſo good, as you and I are ſenſible he is, 'tis more credible that he would ſend good Souls with agreeable Shapes, to check men for their unwarrantable Actions, and to invite 'em in an amicable way to the practice of Vertue, by ſetting forth the Felicity and Bliſs of thoſe Souls that are poſſeſs'd of the good Country. As for the Souls that lye in *Purgatory* (if ſo be that there's any ſuch place) I take it, the Great Spirit has no occaſion to be intreated and pray'd to on their behalf, by thoſe who have

enough to do to pray for themſelves: Beſides, ſince he gives 'em leave to come to the Earth, he might as well allow them to mount up to Heaven. Upon the whole, my dear Brother, if I thought you ſpoke ſeriouſly of theſe things, I ſhould truly be apprehenſive that you are Delirious, or have loſt your Senſes. Certainly, there muſt be ſome more inflaming Article againſt theſe two Jugglers, or elſe both your Laws and your Judges are equally unreaſonable. If 'twere true that theſe miſchievous Actions were actually committed, the Conſequence I ſhould draw from thence, would be this; That ſince there's no ſuch thing heard of among any of the Nations of *Canada*, it can't be otherwiſe but that the Evil Spirit has a power over you that he has not over us. Upon this lay, we are a good People, and you on the other hand are perverſe, malicious, and addicted to all degrees of Vice and Wickedneſs. But, prithee, let's make an end of our Conferences upon this Head; and ſo I'll expect no anſwer to what has been ſaid. To come back to your Laws, pray inform me how it comes to paſs that they ſuffer Women to be Sold for Mony to thoſe who have [136] a mind to make uſe of 'em? Why do they ſuffer thoſe publick Houſes where the Whores and Bawds are in readyneſs all the hours of the day, to oblige all ſorts of Perſons? Why are ſome allow'd to wear Swords, in order to kill others that dare not wear 'em? Why do not they prohibit the Selling of Wine above a determin'd quantity, or the adulterating of it with I do not know how many Ingredients, that ruin one's Health? Do not you ſee the Diſorders committed at *Quebec* by Drunkards? You'll anſwer

perhaps, as others have done before you; that the Vintner is allow'd to Sell as much Goods as he can put off, for the maintenance of himſelf and his Family; and that he who drinks the Wine ought to regulate his own Conduct; and be moderate in that as well as in all other things. But I'll prove that to be impoſſible, for a Man in drink, loſes his Reaſon before he is aware, or at leaſt his Reaſon is ſo drown'd that he is not capable of diſtinguiſhing what he ought to do. Why do not your Laws reſtrain the exceſſive Gaming, that is the ſource of a thouſand evils? Fathers ruin their Families (as I ſaid before) Children either Rob their Fathers, or run 'em into Debt; the Wives and Daughters proſtitute themſelves for Mony, when they're reduc'd to extremities, and have plaid away their Cloaths, and their Houſhold Furniture. This gives riſe to diſputes, murders, enmity, and irreconcileable hatred. Theſe prohibitions, my Brother, would be of no uſe among the *Hurons;* but they are very much wanted among the *French*. If by ſuch methods you would gradually reform the Diſorders that Intereſt has rais'd amongſt you, I ſhould hope that one day you might come to live without Laws as we do.

[137] *Lahontan.* I acquainted you before, that our Laws inflict Penalties on Gameſters; and provide Puniſhments for Whores and Bawds, and above all, for Publick Houſe-Keepers, when diſorders happen in their Houſes. All the difference lies here, that our Cities are ſo large and populous that 'tis not eaſy for the Judges to trace all the Abuſes that are committed: But at the ſame time, they are prohibited by the

Laws, and all poſſible meaſures are us'd to prevent 'em: In one word, our Judges indeavour with ſuch care and application to ſtiffle bad Cuſtoms, to eſtabliſh a good Order in all the Branches of the Society, to puniſh Vice and reward Vertue; this, I ſay, they do with ſuch care and application, that if you could but ſhake off your faulty Prejudices, and weigh narrowly the excellency of our Laws, you would be oblig'd to own that the *French* are a juſt, judicious and knowing People, who purſue the true meaſures of Juſtice and Reaſon more than you do.

Adario. I would gladly embrace any opportunity of working my ſelf into that Belief before I die, for I have a natural affection for the *French;* but I am very apprehenſive that I ſhall not meet with that Conſolation. Upon this foot, your Judges ought to begin firſt to obſerve the Laws, that their example may influence others; they ought to diſcontinue their Oppreſſion of Widows, Orphans, and poor Creatures; to give diſpatch to the Suits of Perſons that come an hundred Leagues off for a Hearing; and in a word, to form ſuch Judgments of Cauſes as the Great Spirit ſhall do. I can never entertain a good thought of your Laws, till they leſſen the Taxes and Duties that poor People are conſtrain'd to pay, at a time when the Rich of all Stations pay nothing in proportion to their Eſtates; till [138] you put a ſtop to the courſe of Drunkenneſs that ſpreads thro' our Villages, by prohibiting the *Coureurs de Bois* to import Brandy among us. Then indeed I ſhall hope that you'll compleat your Reformation by degrees, that a levelling of Eſtates may gradually creep in among you; and that at laſt you'll abhor that thing call'd Intereſt, which occa-

ſions all the Miſchief that *Europe* groans under. When you arrive at that pitch, you'll have neither *Meum* nor *Tuum* to diſturb you, but live as happily as the *Hurons*. This is enough for one day: I ſee my Slave coming to acquaint me that I am wanted in the Village. Farewel, my dear Brother, till to morrow.

Lahontan. I am of the Opinion, my dear Friend, that you would not have come ſo ſoon to my Apartment, if you had not deſign'd to purſue our laſt Diſpute. As for my part, I declare I will not enter the liſts farther with you, upon the conſideration that you are not capable to apprehend my Arguments. You are ſo prepoſſeſs'd on the behalf of your own Nation, ſo ſtrongly byaſs'd to the Savage Cuſtoms, and ſo little fond of a due enquiry into ours; that I ſhall not daign to kill both my Body and my Soul, in endeavouring to make you ſenſible of the ignorance and miſery that the *Hurons* have always liv'd in. Thou knoweſt I am thy Friend; and ſo I have no other view, but to ſet before thine eyes the Felicity that attends the *French*, to the end that thou and the reſt of thy Nation may live as they do. I told you, I do not know how often, that you inſiſt on the Converſation of ſome *French* Debauchees, and meaſure all the reſt by their Buſhel. I acquainted you, that they were puniſh'd for their Crimes; but theſe reaſons will not go down with you; you obſtinately [139] maintain your aſſertion by throwing in affrontive anſwers, as if the *French* were not Men. Upon the whole, I am downright weary of hearing ſuch poor ſtuff come from the Mouth of a Man that all the *French* look upon as a Man of excellent

Senſe. The People of thy Nation reſpect thee not only for thy Senſe and Spirit, but for thy Experience and Valour. Thou art the Head of the Warriours, and the Preſident of the Council; and without flattery, I have ſcarce met with a Man of a quicker apprehenſion than thy ſelf. 'Tis upon this conſideration, that I pity thee with all my heart for not throwing off thy prejudicate Opinions.

Adario. Thou'rt miſtaken, my dear Brother, in all thou haſt ſaid; for I have not form'd to my ſelf any falſe Idea of your Religion, or of your Laws. The Example of all the *French* in General, will ever oblige me to look upon all their Actions as unworthy of a Man. So that my Idea's are juſt; the prepoſſeſſion you talk of is well grounded; and I am ready to make out all my advances. We talk'd of Religion and Laws, and I did not impart to you above a quarter of what I had to ſay upon that Head. You inſiſt chiefly upon our way of living, which you take to be Blame-worthy. The *French* in general take us for Beaſts; the Jeſuits Brand us for impious, fooliſh and ignorant Vagabonds. And to be even with you, we have the ſame thoughts of you; but with this difference, that *we* pity you without offering invectives. Pray hear me, my dear Brother, I ſpeak calmly and without paſſion. The more I reflect upon the lives of the *Europeans*, the leſs Wiſdom and Happineſs I find among 'em. Theſe ſix years I have bent my thoughts upon the State of the *Europeans:* But I can't light on any thing in their Actions that is not [140] beneath a Man; and truly I think 'tis impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe, ſo long as you ſtick to the meaſures of *Meum* and *Tuum.*

I affirm that what you call Silver is the Devil of Devils; the Tyrant of the *French;* the Source of all Evil; the Bane of Souls, and the Slaughter-Houſe of living Perſons. To pretend to live in the Mony Country, and at the ſame time to ſave one's Soul, is as great an inconſiſtency as for a Man to go to the bottom of a Lake to preſerve his Life. This Mony is the Father of Luxury, Laſciviouſneſs, Intrigues, Tricks, Lying, Treachery, Falſeneſs, and in a word, of all the miſchief in the World. The Father ſells his Children, Husbands expoſe their Wives to Sale, Wives betray their Husbands, Brethren kill one another, Friends are falſe, and all this proceeds from Mony. Conſider this, and then tell me if we are not in the right of it, in refuſing to finger, or ſo much as to look upon that curſed Metal.

Lahontan. What! is it poſſible that you ſhould always Reaſon ſo ſorrily! Prithee, do but liſten once in thy life time to what I am going to ſay. Doſt not thou ſee, my dear Friend, that the Nations of *Europe* could not live without Gold and Silver, or ſome ſuch precious thing. Without that Symbol, the Gentlemen, the Prieſts, the Merchants, and an infinity of other Perſons who have not Strength enough to labour the Earth, would die for Hunger. Upon that lay, our Kings would be no Kings: Nay, what Soldiers ſhould we then have? Who would then Work for Kings or any body elſe, who would run the hazard of the Sea, who would make Arms unleſs 'twere for himſelf? Believe me, this would run us to remedileſs Ruine, 'twould turn *Europe* into a Chaos, and create the moſt diſmal Confuſion that Imagination it ſelf can reach.

[141] *Adario.* You fobb me off very prettily, truly, when you bring in your Gentlemen, your Merchants and your Prieſts. If you were Strangers to *Meum* and *Tuum*, thoſe diſtinctions of Men would be ſunk; a levelling equality would then take place among you as it now do's among the *Hurons.* For the firſt thirty years indeed, after the baniſhing of Intereſt, you would ſee a ſtrange Deſolation; thoſe who are only qualify'd to eat, drink, ſleep and divert themſelves, would languiſh and die; but their Poſterity would be fit for our way of living. I have ſet forth again and again, the qualities that make a Man inwardly ſuch as he ought to be; particularly, Wiſdom, Reaſon, Equity, *&c.* which are courted by the *Hurons.* I have made it appear that the Notion of ſeparate Intereſts knocks all theſe Qualities in the Head, and that a Man ſway'd by Intereſt can't be a Man of Reaſon. As for the outward Qualifications of a Man; he ought to be expert in Marching, Hunting, Fiſhing, Waging War, Ranging the Foreſts, Building Hutts and Canows, Firing of Guns, Shooting of Arrows, Working Canows: He ought to be Indefatigable, and able to live on ſhort Commons upon occaſion. In a word, he ought to know how to go about all the Exerciſes of the *Hurons.* Now in my way, 'tis the Perſon thus qualify'd that I call a *Man.* Do but conſider, how many Millions there are in *Europe*, who, if they were left thirty Leagues off in the Forreſts, and provided with Fuſees and Arrows, would be equally at a loſs, either to Hunt and maintain themſelves, or to find their way out: And yet you ſee we traverſe a hundred Leagues of Forreſts without loſing our way, that we kill Fowl and other Beaſts with our Arrows,

that we catch Fiſh in all the places where they are to be had; that we [142] Dog both Men and Wild Beaſts by their Foot-ſteps, whether in Woods or in open Fields, in Summer or in Winter; that we live upon Roots when we lye before the Gates of the *Iroqueſe*, that we run like Hares, that we know how to uſe both the Axe and the Knife, and to make a great many uſeful things. Now ſince we are capable of ſuch things, what ſhould hinder you to do the ſame, when Intereſt is laid aſide? Are not your Bodies as large, ſtrong and brawny as ours? Are not your Artiſans imploy'd in harder and more difficult Work than ours? If you liv'd after our manner, all of you would be equally Maſters; your Riches would be of the ſame Stamp with ours, and conſiſt in the purchaſing of Glory by military Actions, and the taking of Slaves; for the more you took of them the leſs occaſion you would have to Work: In a word, you would live as happily as we do.

Lahontan. Do you place a happy Life, in being oblig'd to lye under a pittiful Hutt of Bark, to Sleep under four ſorry Coverlets of Beaver Skins, to Eat nothing but what you Boil and Roaſt, to be Cloath'd with Skins, to go a Beaver Hunting in the harſheſt Seaſon of the Year, to run a hundred Leagues on Foot in purſuit of the *Iroqueſe*, thro' Marſhes and thick Woods, the Trees of which are cut down ſo as to render 'em inacceſſible! Do you think your ſelves happy when you venture out in little Canows, and run the riſque of being drown'd every foot in your Voyages upon the Great Lakes; when you lye upon the ground with the Heavens for your Canopy, upon approaching to the Villages of your Enemies; when

you run with full Speed, both days and nights without eating or drinking, as being purſued by your Enemies; when you are ſure of being reduc'd to the laſt extremity, if [143] the *Coureurs de Bois* did not out of Friendſhip, Charity and Commiſeration, ſupply you with Fire-Arms, Powder, Lead, Thread for Nets, Axes, Knives, Needles, Awls, Fiſhing-Hooks, Kettles, and ſeveral other Commodities?

Adario. Very fine, come, don't let's go ſo faſt; the day is long, and we may talk one after the other at our own leiſure. It ſeems you take all theſe things to be great hardſhips; and indeed I own they would be ſuch to the *French*, who like Beaſts, love only to eat and to drink, and have been brought up to Softneſs and Effeminacy. Prithee, tell me what difference there is between lying in a good Hutt, and lying in a Palace; between Sleeping under a Cover of Beaver-Skins, and Sleeping under a Quilt between two Sheets; between Eating Boil'd and Roaſt Meat, and feeding upon dirty Pies, Ragou's, *&c.* dreſs'd by your greaſy Scullions? Are we liable to more Diſorders and Sickneſſes than the *French*, who are accommodated with theſe Palaces, Beds and Cooks? But after all, how many are there in *France* that lye upon Straw in Garrets where the Rain comes in on all hands, and that are hard put to't to find Victuals and Drink? I have been in *France*, and ſpeak from what I have ſeen with my Eyes. You rally without reaſon, upon our Cloaths made of Skins, for they are warmer, and keep out the Rain better than your Cloth; beſides, they are not ſo ridiculouſly made as your Garments,

which have more Stuff in their Pockets and Skirts, than in the Body of the Garment. As for our Beaver-Hunting, you take it to be a terrible thing; while it affords us all manner of pleaſure and diverſion; and at the ſame time, procures us all ſorts of Commodities in exchange for the Skins. Beſides, our Slaves take all the Drudgery off our hands, (if ſo be [144] that you will have it to be drudgery.) You know very well that Hunting is the moſt agreeable Diverſion we have; but the Beaver-Hunting being ſo very pleaſant, we prefer it to all the other ſorts. You ſay, we have a troubleſome and tedious way of waging War; and indeed I muſt own that a *French* Man would not be able to bear it, upon the account that you are not accuſtom'd to ſuch long Voyages on Foot; but theſe Excurſions do not fatigue us in the leaſt, and 'twere to be wiſh'd for the good of *Canada*, that you were poſſeſs'd of the ſame Talent; for if you were, the *Iroqueſe* would not Cut your Throats in the midſt of your own Habitations, as they do now every day. You inſiſt likewiſe on the riſque we run in our little Canows, as an inſtance of our Miſery; and with reference to that Point, 'tis true that ſometimes we cannot diſpenſe with the uſe of Canows, becauſe we are Strangers to the Art of Building larger Veſſels; but after all, your great Veſſels are liable to be caſt away as well as our Canows. 'Tis likewiſe true, that we lye flat upon the open ground when we approach to the Villages of our Enemies; but 'tis equally true that the Soldiers in *France* are not ſo well accommodated as your Men are here, and that they are oftentimes forc'd to

lye in Marſhes and Ditches, where they are expos'd to the Rain and Wind. You object farther, that we betake our ſelves to a ſpeedy Flight; and pray what can be more natural than to flye when the number of our Enemies is triple to ours. The Fatigue indeed of running night and day without Eating and Drinking, is terrible; but we had better undergo it than become Slaves. I am apt to believe that ſuch extremities are matter of Horrour to the *Europeans*, but we look upon 'em as in a manner, nothing. [145] You conclude, in pretending that the *French* prevent our Miſery by taking pity of us. But pray conſider how our Anceſtors liv'd an hundred years ago: They liv'd as well without your Commodities as we do with 'em; for inſtead of your Fire-Locks, Powder and Shot, they made uſe of Bows and Arrows, as we do to this day: They made Nets of the Thread of the Barks of Trees, Axes of Stone; Knives, Needles and Awls of Stag or Elk-Bones; and ſupply'd the room of Kettles with Earthen Pots. Now, ſince our Anceſtors liv'd without theſe Commodities for ſo many Ages; I am of the Opinion, we could diſpenſe with 'em eaſyer than the *French* could with our Beaver Skins; for which, by a mighty piece of Friendſhip, they give us in exchange Fuſees, that burſt and Lame many of our Warriors, Axes that break in the cutting of a Shrub, Knives that turn Blunt, and loſe their Edge in the cutting of a Citron; Thread which is half Rotten, and ſo very bad that our Nets are worn out as ſoon as they are made; and Kettles ſo thin and ſlight, that the very weight of Water makes the Bottoms fall out. This,

my dear Brother, is the anſwer I had to give to your Reflexions upon the Miſery of the *Hurons*.[1]

Lahontan. 'Tis well; I find you would have me to believe that the *Hurons* are inſenſible of their Fatigue and Labour; and being bred up to Poverty and Hardſhips, have another notion of 'em than we have. This may do with thoſe who have never ſtir'd out of their own Country, and conſequently have no Idea of a better Life than their own; who having never viſited our Cities and Towns, fancy that we live juſt as they do. But as for thee, who haſt ſeen *France*, *Quebec* and *New-England*, methinks thy judgment and reliſh of things are too much of the Savage [146] Strain; whilſt thou prefers the Condition of the *Hurons* to that of the *Europeans*. Can there be a more agreeable and delightful Life in the World, than that of an infinity of rich Men, who want for nothing? They have fine Coaches, Stately Houſes adorn'd with Rich Hangings and Magnificent Pictures, Sweet Gardens repleniſh'd with all ſorts of Fruit, Parks Stock'd with all ſorts of Animals, Horſes and Hounds and good ſtore of Mony, which enables 'em to keep a Sumptuous Table, to frequent the Play-Houſes, to Game freely, and to diſpoſe handſomely of their Children. Theſe happy Men are ador'd by their Dependants; and you

[1] As the result of contact with Europeans, there was soon noticeable a great change in Indian customs and mode of living. The introduction from Europe of iron implements, fire-arms, utensils, clothing, and ornaments, profoundly affected our aborigines, and rendered them thenceforth dependent upon traders for the very means of subsistence. Lahontan has here put into the mouth of Adario an illuminating although satirical reference to the process by which the American Indians were quickly converted by the fur-traders from a self-reliant people into a dependent class.—ED.

have ſeen with your own eyes our Princes, Dukes, Mareſhals of *France*, Prelates, and a Million of perſons of all Stations, who want for nothing, and live like Kings, and who never call to mind that they have liv'd, till ſuch time as Death alarms 'em.

Adario. If I had not been particularly inform'd of the State of *France*, and let into the knowledge of all the Circumſtances of that People, by my Voyage to *Paris;* I might have been Blinded by the outward appearances of Felicity that you ſet forth: But I know that your Prince, your Duke, your Mareſhal, and your Prelate are far from being happy upon the Compaariſon with the *Hurons*, who know no other happineſs than that of Liberty and Tranquility of Mind: For your great Lords hate one another in their Hearts; they forfeit their Sleep, and neglect even Eating and Drinking, in making their Court to the King, and undermining their Enemies; they offer ſuch Violence to Nature in diſſembling, diſguiſing and bearing things, that the Torture of their Soul leaves all Expreſſion far behind it. Is all this nothing in your way? Do you think it ſuch a trifling matter to have fifty [147] Serpents in your Boſom? Had not they better throw their Coaches, their Palaces and their Finery, into the River, than to ſpend their life time in a continued Series of Martyrdom? Were I in their place, I'd rather chooſe to be a *Huron* with a Naked Body and a Serene Mind. The Body is the Apartment in which the Soul is lodg'd; and what ſignifies it, for the Caſe call'd the Body, to be ſet off with Gold Trappings, or ſpread out in a Coach, or planted before a Sumptuous Table,

while the Soul Galls and Tortures it? The great Lords, that you call Happy, lie expos'd to Diſgrace from the King, to the detraction of a thouſand ſorts of Perſons, to the loſs of their Places, to the Contempt of their Fellow Courtiers; and in a word, their ſoft Life is thwarted by Ambition, Pride, Preſumption and Envy. They are Slaves to their Paſſions, and to their King, who is the only *French* Man that can be call'd Happy, with reſpect to that adorable Liberty which he alone enjoys. There's a thouſand of us in one Village, and you ſee that we love one another like Brethren; that whatever any one has is at his Neighbour's Service; that our Generals and Preſidents of the Council have not more Power than any other *Huron;* that Detraction and Quarreling were never heard of among us; and in fine, that every one is his own Maſter, and do's what he pleaſes, without being accountable to another, or cenſur'd by his Neighbour. This, my dear Brother, is the difference between us and your Princes, Dukes, *&c.* And if thoſe great Men are ſo Unhappy, by conſequence, thoſe of inferiour Stations muſt have a greater ſhare of Trouble and perplexing Cares.

[148] *Lahontan.* You muſt know that as your *Hurons* who are brought up in the way of Fatigue and Miſery, have no mind to be rid of it; ſo theſe great Lords being inur'd from their infancy to ambition, care, *&c.* can't live without it. As Happineſs lies in the imagination, ſo they feed themſelves with Vanity, and in their hearts think themſelves as good as the King. That Tranquility of mind that the *Hurons* enjoy,

never car'd for croſſing over to *France*, for fear of being confin'd to the little Religious Houſes. Tranquility of mind paſſes in *France* for the Character of a Fool, of a ſenſeleſs, careleſs Fellow. To be happy, one muſt always have ſomewhat in his view that feeds his Wiſhes. He that confines his Wiſhes to what he enjoys, muſt be a *Huron*, which none will deſire to be, if he conſiders that Life would be a Scene of Uneaſyneſs, if our Mind did not direct us every minute to deſire ſomewhat that we are not yet poſſeſs'd of; and 'tis this that makes a Life happy, provided the means imploy'd in the proſecution of ſuch Wiſhes are lawful and warrantable.

Adario. Is not that Burying a Man alive; to rack his Mind without intermiſſion in the acquiſition of Riches and Honour, which cloy us as ſoon as obtain'd; to infeeble and waſte his Body, and to expoſe his Life in the forming of Enterpriſes, that for the moſt part prove Abortive? As for your Allegation, that theſe great Lords are bred from their Infancy to Ambition and Care, as we are to Labour and Fatigue; I muſt ſay, 'tis a fine Compariſon for a Man that can Read and Write. Tell me, prithee, if the repoſe of the Mind and the exerciſe of the Body are not the neceſſary Inſtruments of Health, if the toſſing of the Mind and the reſt of the Body are not the means to deſtroy it? What have we [149] in the World that's dearer to us than our Lives, and ought not we to take the beſt meaſures to preſerve 'em? The *French* murder their Health by a thouſand different means, and we preſerve ours till our Bodies are worn out, our Souls

being ſo far free from Paſſions, that they can't alter or diſturb our Bodies. And after all, you inſinuate that the *French* haſten the Moment of their Death by lawful means: A very pretty concluſion indeed, and ſuch as deſerves to be took notice of. Believe me, my dear Brother, 'tis thy Intereſt to turn *Huron*, in order to prolong thy life. Thou ſhalt drink, eat, ſleep, and Hunt with all the eaſe that can be; thou ſhalt be free'd from the Paſſions that Tyranniſe over the *French;* thou ſhalt have no occaſion for Gold or Silver to make thee happy; thou ſhalt not fear Robbers, Aſſaſſins or Falſe Witneſſes; and if thou haſt a mind to be King of all the World, why, thou ſhalt have nothing to do but to think that thou art ſo.

Lahontan. You cannot expect I ſhould comply with your demand, without thinking that I have been guilty of ſuch Crimes in *France*, that I can't return without running the riſque of being Burnt: For after all, I can't imagine a more unaccountable *Metamorphoſis*, than that of a *French* Man into a *Huron.* How d'ye think I could undergo the Fatigues we talk'd of but now? D'ye think I could have the patience to hear the Childiſh Propoſals of your Ancient and your Young Men, without taking them up? Is it feaſible that I could live upon Broth, Bread, *Indian* Corn, Roaſt Meat and Boil'd, without either Pepper or Salt? Could I brook the Larding of my Face like a Fool, with twenty ſorts of Colours? What Spirit muſt I be of, if I drink nothing but Mapple-Water, and go ſtark Naked all the Summer, [150] and eat out of nothing but Wooden Diſhes? Your Meals would never go

down with me, ſince two or three hundred Perſons muſt Dance for two or three hours before and after. I can't live with an uncivilis'd ſort of People, who know no other Compliment than, *I honour you.* No, no; my dear *Adario*, 'tis impoſſible for a *French-Man* to turn *Huron*, but a *Huron* may eaſily become a *French-Man.*

Adario. At that rate you prefer Slavery to Liberty. But 'tis no Surpriſal to me, after what I have heard you maintain: Tho after all, if you happen'd to enter into your own Breaſt, and to throw off your prepoſſeſſion with regard to the Cuſtoms and Humours of the *French* Nation; I cannot ſee that the Objections you've now Started, are of ſuch Moment as to keep you from falling into our way of living. What a mighty difficulty you meet with in bringing your ſelf to approve of our old Men's Counſel, and our young Men's Projects! Are not you equally gravell'd, when the Jeſuits and your Superiours make impertinent demands? Why would not you chooſe to live upon the Broth of all ſorts of good and ſubſtantial Meat? Our Partridges, Turkeys, Hares, Ducks, and Roe-Bucks; do not they eat well when they're Roaſted or Boil'd? What ſignifies your Pepper, your Salt, and a thouſand other Spices, unleſs it be to murder your Health? Try our way of living but one fort-night, and then you'll long for no ſuch doings. What harm can you fear from the Painting of your Face with Colours? You dawb your Hair with Powder and Eſſence, and even your Cloaths are ſprinkled with the ſame: Nay, I have ſeen *French* Men that had Muſtaches like Cats, cover'd

o'er with Wax. As for the Mapple-Water, 'tis ſweet, healthy, well-taſted, and friendly to the Stomach: [151] And I've ſeen you drink of it oftner than once or twice: Whereas Wine and Brandy deſtroy the natural Heat, pall the Stomach, inflame the Blood, Intoxicate, and create a thouſand Diſorders. And pray what harm would it do ye, to go Naked in warm Weather? Beſides, we are not ſo ſtark Naked, but that we are cover'd behind and before. 'Tis better to go Naked, than to toil under an everlaſting Sweat, and under a load of Cloaths heap'd up one above another. Where's the uneaſyneſs of Eating, Singing, and Dancing in good Company? Had not you better do ſo than ſit at Table moping by your ſelf, or in the Company of thoſe that you never ſaw or knew before? All the hardſhip then, that you can complain of, lies in converſing with an unciviliz'd People, and being robb'd of the Pageantry of Compliments. This you take to be a ſad Affliction, tho' at the bottom 'tis far from being ſuch. Tell me, prithee; do's not Civility conſiſt in Decency and an affable Carriage? And what is Decency? Is it not an everlaſting Rack, and a tyreſome Affectation diſplay'd in Words, Cloaths and Countenance? And why would you Court a Quality that gives you ſo much trouble? As for Affability; I preſume it lyes in giving People to know our readyneſs to ſerve 'em, by Careſſes and other outward Marks; As when you ſay every turn, Sir, *I'm your humble Servant, you may diſpoſe of me as you pleaſe.* Now, let's but conſider to what purpoſe all theſe Words are ſpoke; for what end muſt we lie upon all occaſions, and ſpeak other-

wiſe than we think? Had not you better ſpeak after this faſhion; *Ho! art thou there, thou'rt welcome, for I honour thee?* Is not it an ugly ſhow, to bend one's Body half a ſcore times, to lower one's hand to the ground, and to ſay every moment, *I ask your Pardon?* Be [152] it known to thee, my dear Brother, that this Submiſſion alone would be enough to unhinge me quite, as to your way of living. You've aſſerted that a *Huron* may eaſily turn *French;* but believe me, he'll meet with other difficulties in the way of his Converſion than thoſe you ſpeak of. For ſuppoſing I were to turn *French* out of hand, I muſt begin with a complyance to Chriſtianity, which is a Point that you and I talk'd enough of three days ago. In order to the ſame end, I muſt get my ſelf Shav'd every three days, for in all appearance I ſhould no ſooner profeſs Galliciſm, than I ſhould become rough and hairy like a Beaſt: And this inconvenience ſhocks me extreamly: Sure 'tis much better to be Beardleſs and Hairleſs; and I'm equally ſure you never ſaw a rough Savage. How d'ye think it would agree with me to ſpend two hours in Dreſſing or Shifting my ſelf, to put on a Blue Sute and Red Stockins, with a Black Hat and a White Feather, beſides colour'd Ribbands? Such Rigging would make me look upon my ſelf as a Fool. How could I condeſcend to Sing in the Streets, to Dance before a Looking-Glaſs, to toſs my Wigg ſometimes before and ſometimes behind me? I could not ſtoop ſo as to make my Honours, and fall down before a parcel of Sawcy Fools, that are intitled to no other Merit than that of their Birth and Fortune. D'ye think that I could ſee the Indigent languiſh and pine away, without giving

'em all I had? How could I wear a Sword without attacking a Company of Profligate Men who throw into the Gallys an infinity of poor Strangers, (*) that never injur'd any Body, and are carried, in a woful Condition, out of their Native Country, to Curſe in the [153] midſt of their Chains, their Fathers and Mothers, their Birth, and even the Great Spirit. Thus 'tis that the *Iroqueſe* languiſh, who were ſent to *France* ſome two years ago.[1] Can you imagine that I would ſpeak ill of my Friends, careſs my Enemies, contemn the Miſerable, honour the Wicked, and enter into Dealings with 'em; that I would triumph o'er my Neighbour's Misfortunes, and praiſe a naughty Man; that I would act the part of the Envious, the Traitours, the Flatterers, the Inconſtant, the Liars, the Proud, the Avaricious, the Selfiſh, the Taletellers, and all your double Minded Folks? D'ye think it poſſible for me to be ſo indiſcreet as to boaſt at once of what I have done, and what I have not done; to be ſo mean as to crawl like an Adder at the feet of a Lord, that orders his Servants to deny him; and to take a Refuſal tamely? No, my dear Brother, no; I can't brook the Character of a *French* Man; I had rather continue what I am than paſs my Life in theſe Chains. Is it poſſible that our Liberty do's not Charm you? Can you live an eaſier life than what you may have in our way? When thou comeſt to viſit me in my Hutt, do not my Wife and my Daughters withdraw and leave thee alone with me, that

* *The Algerines, Tripolins, Moors, Turks, &c. who are taken in the Mediterranean, and are ſent to Marſeilles to the Galleys.*

[1] For this incident, and its effect upon the colony, see pp. 122–124, *ante*.— Ed.

our Converſation may ſuffer no Interruption? In like manner, when thou mean'ſt to pay a Viſit to my Wife or my Daughters, are not thou left alone with the party that thou comeſt to See? Are not you welcome to Command any Hutt in the Village, and to call for any thing of Eatables that you like beſt? Did ever a *Huron* refuſe another, either the whole or part of what he had catch'd at Hunting or Fiſhing? Do not we make dividends of our Beaver-Skins, in order to ſupply thoſe who have not enough to purchaſe ſuch Commodities as they have occaſion for? [154] Do not we obſerve the ſame Method in the diſtribution of our Corn, to ſuch as have not ſufficient Crops upon their Fields for the maintenance of their Families? If any one of us have a mind to Build a Canow or a Hutt, we all ſend our Slaves to forward the Work, without being ask'd. This is a quite different way of living from that of the *Europeans*, who would Sue their neareſt Relations for an Ox or a Horſe. If the *European* Father asks Mony of his Son, or the Son of the Father, he replys he has none. If of two *French* Men who have liv'd twenty years together, and eat and drink at one Table every day; if of theſe two *French* Men, I ſay, one ſhould ask the other for Mony, the anſwer is, there's none to be had. If a poor Wretch that goes naked in the Streets, and is ready to dye with Hunger and Hardſhips: does but ask a rich Man for a Farthing, his anſwer is, *'Tis not for him.* Now ſince all this is true, how can you have the preſumption to claim a free acceſs to the Country of the Great Spirit? Sure, there's not a Man upon Earth that does not know, that Evil is contrary to Nature, and that he was not

Created to do Miſchief. What hopes then can a Chriſtian have at his Death, that never did a good Action in his Life time. He either muſt believe that the Soul dies with the Body (tho' there's none of you that owns that Opinion) or elſe ſuppoſing the Immortality of the Soul, and ſuppoſing your Tenents of Hell, and of the Sins that waft Sinners to that Region, to be juſt and true, your Souls will have a hot time of it.

Lahontan. D'ye hear, *Adario?* I find 'tis needleſs for us to Reaſon longer upon theſe Heads; for all the Arguments you offer have nothing of Solidity in 'em. I have told thee a hundred times, that the inſtance of a handful of wicked [155] Men concludes nothing upon the whole: You fancy that every *European* has his particular Vice, whether known or unknown; and I may preach the contrary to you till to Morrow Morning and not Convince you when I have done. You make no difference between a Scoundrel and a Man of Honour; and ſo I may talk to you ten Years together and not unhinge you of the bad opinion you have of our Religion, our Laws, and our Cuſtoms. I would give a hundred Beaver Skins that you could Read and Write like a *Frenchman.* Had you that Qualification, you would not ſo ſhamefully contemn the happy Condition of the *Europeans.* We have had in *France* ſome *Chineſe* and *Siameſe* who came from the remoteſt parts of the World, and were in every reſpect more averſe to our Cuſtoms than the *Hurons*, and yet could not but admire our way of Living. For my part, I proteſt I can't conceive the ground of your Obſtinacy.

Adario, All theſe People have as crooked Minds as they have deform'd Bodies. I have ſeen ſome of the Ambaſſadors from the Nations you ſpeak of, and the Jeſuits at *Paris* gave me ſome account of their Country. They obſerve a diviſion of Property as well as the *French;* and foraſmuch as they are more brutiſh and more wedded to their Intereſt than the *French*, we muſt not think it ſtrange that they approv'd of the Cuſtoms and Manners of a People who treated 'em with all the meaſures of Frendſhip, and made 'em Preſents. You muſt not think that the *Hurons* will take their Meaſures from them. You ought not to take Exceptions at any thing that I have prov'd; for I do not deſpiſe the *Europeans*, tho' indeed I can't but pity 'em. You ſay well in alledging that I place no difference between a Rogue and what you call a Man of [156] Honour. My Apprehenſion indeed is flat enough; but for a long time I have Convers'd with the *French* on purpoſe to know what they mean by their Man of Honour. To be ſure the Word can't be apply'd to a *Huron*, who is a Stranger to Silver, ſince a moneyleſs Man is no Man of Honour in your way. 'Twere an eaſie matter to make my Slave a Man of Honour, by carrying him to *Paris*, and furniſhing him with a hundred Packs of Beaver Skins, to anſwer the charge of a Coach and ten or twelve Footmen. As ſoon as he appears in an Embroider'd Suit with ſuch a Retinue, he'l be Saluted by every one, and Introduc'd to the greateſt Treats, and the higheſt Company: And if he does but regale the Gentlemen, and make Preſents to the Ladies, he paſſes in courſe for a Man of Senſe and Merit: He'l be call'd the

The Beaver hunting Spoken of in y^e 16 letter.

A the Iroquese surprising their enemies at hunting

B the huntsmen coming in a body to meet 'em

C a savage taken prisoner of war

D a Savage surpris'd and killd in the action

E the Iroquese in Ambush firing upon y^e Canows

F the Iroquese shooting upon y^e Canows that fly.

G Savages flying to their Canows

H Canows of bark

L Savages put to flight

M. women flying with their Children

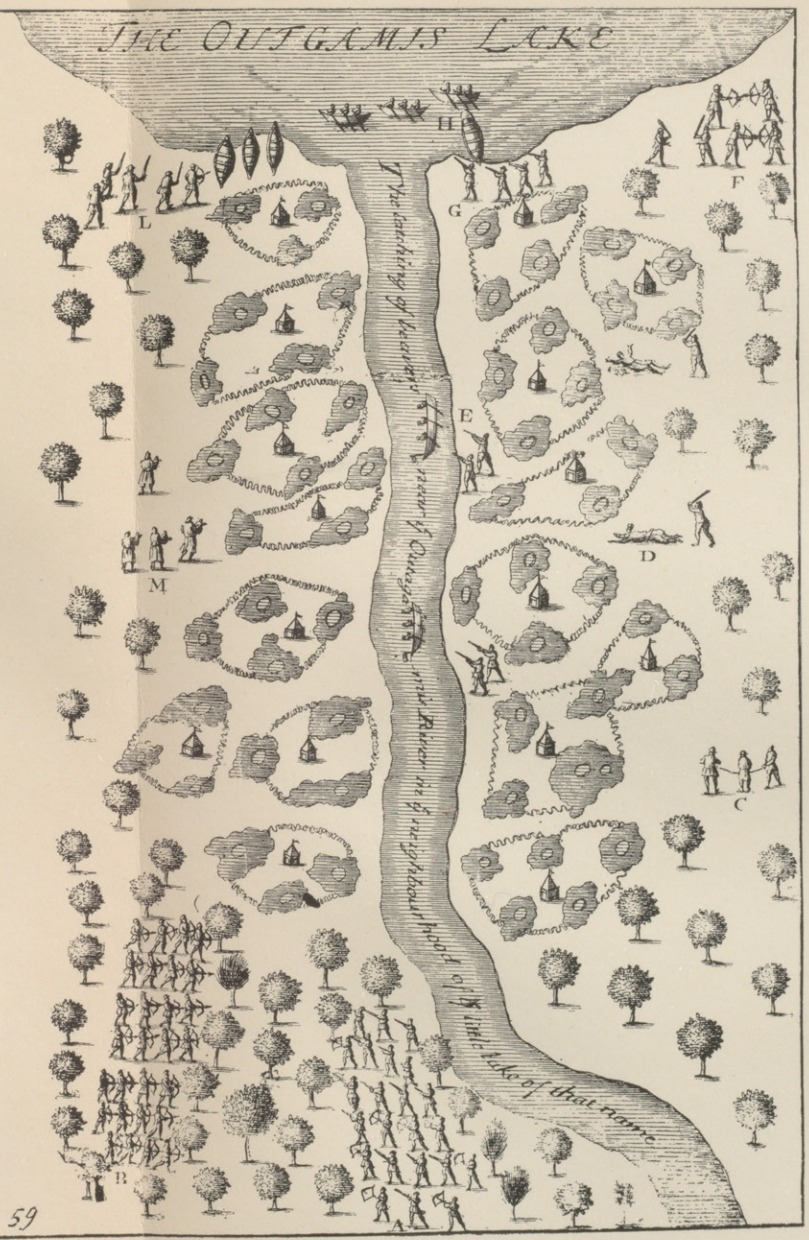
A hut for 10 huntsmen



The precinct of a hut for ten huntsmen plaid in y^e middle



A pool or little lake in y^e midst of which y^e beavers build their kennels



King of the *Hurons*, and every one will give out, that his Country is full of Gold Mines, that himſelf is the moſt Puiſſant Prince in *America*, that he is a Man of Senſe and talks moſt agreeably in Company; that he is redoubted by all his Neighbours; in fine, he'l be ſuch a Man of Honour as moſt of your *French* Footmen come to be after they have made ſhift, by infamous and deteſtable means, to pick up as much Money as will fetch that pompous Equipage. Ha! my dear Brother, if I could but read, I could find out a great many fine things that now I do not know. You ſhould not then get off for hearing me mention the few Diſorders that I obſerv'd among the *Europeans;* for I would then muſter you up a great many more, whether in Wholeſale or Retail. I do not believe that there's any one Vocation or Rank of Men that would not be found liable to juſt Cenſure, if examin'd by one that can Read and Write. And in my Opinion [157] 'twere better for the *French* that they were Strangers to Reading and Writing: Every Day gives us freſh Inſtances of an infinity of Diſputes among the *Coureurs de Bois* upon the account of *Writings*, which tend to nothing but Litigiouſneſs and Law Suits. One bit of Paper is enough to ruin a whole Family. With a ſlip of a Letter a Woman betrays her Husband, and concerts ways to have her turn ſerv'd; a Mother ſells her Daughter, and a Forger of Writings cheats whom he pleaſes. In your Books which are publiſh'd every Day, you write Lies and impertinent Stories; and yet you would fain have me to Read and Write like the *French*. No, my dear Brother, I had rather live without Knowledge, than

to Read and Write ſuch things as the *Hurons* abhor. We can do all our Buſineſs with reference to our Hunting and our Military Adventures, by the help of our Hieroglyphicks. You know very well that the Characters which we draw upon the peel'd Trees in our Paſſages, comprehend all the Particulars of a Hunting or Warlike Expedition, and that all who ſee theſe Marks know what they ſignifie.[1] Now, pray, what occaſion have we for more? The Communion of Goods among the *Hurons* ſuperſedes the uſe of Writing. We have no Poſts nor no Horſes in our Forreſts for Couriers to ride upon to *Quebec*. We make Peace and War without Writing, and employ only Ambaſſadors that carry the Faith and Promiſe of the Nation. Our Boundaries are adjuſted without Writing: And as for the Sciences that you ſtudy, they would be of no uſe to us; for, to inſtance in *Geography*, we have no mind to puzzle our Brains in the reading of Books of Voyages that contradict one another; and are not in the humour to abdicate our Country, which you know we are [158] ſo minutely acquainted with, that the leaſt Brook does not ſcape our Calculation. *Aſtronomy* would be equally uſeleſs; for we reckon the Years by the Moons, and ſo many Winters ſtand for an equal number of Years. *Navigation* would be yet leſs ſerviceable, for we have no Ships: And *Fortification* can bring us no Advantage, in regard that a Fort of ſingle Paliſſadoes is to us a ſufficient guard from the Arrows and the Surpriſes of our Enemies, who are Strangers to Artillery. In a Word, conſid-

[1] See pp. 512–515, *ante*.— Ed.

ering our way of living, Writing can do us no good. All that I value in the whole Circle of your Sciences, is *Arithmetick:* I can't but own that that Science pleaſes me infinitely well, tho' at the ſame time I am ſenſible that thoſe who are vers'd in it are not free from great Errors. There is no Trade or Profeſſion among the *French* that I like, excepting that which runs in the way of *Commerce;* that indeed I look upon as a Lawful Calling, and that which is moſt neceſſary for our Welfare. The Merchants are welcome to us; ſometimes they bring us good Commodities, and ſome of 'em being Men of Juſtice and Probity are ſatisfied with a moderate Gain: They run great hazards, they advance beforehand, they lend, they ſtay for their due; in fine, I know many Dealers that have a juſt and reaſonable Soul, and have oblig'd our Nation very much. But at the ſame time there are others who act with no other view than to make an exorbitant Profit upon Goods that have a good ſhew and are worth but little, particularly Axes, Kettles, Powder, Guns, *&c.* which we are not qualified to know. This makes it to appear, that in all the Ranks and Degrees of the *Europeans* there's ſomething that ought to be diſlik'd. This is a certain truth, that if a Merchant has not an upright Heart, and a [159] ſufficient ſtock of Vertue to withſtand the various Temptations to which his Buſineſs lays him open, he violates every foot the meaſures of Juſtice, Equity, Charity, Sincerity, and true Faith. Are not they chargeable with flaming Wickedneſs, when they give us ſorry Commodities in exchange for our Beaver Skins, which a blind

Man may deal in without being cheated? I have done, my dear Brother, I muſt now return to the Village, where I'll ſtay for you to Morrow after Dinner.

Lahontan. I am come, *Adario*, to thy Apartment, to pay my Reſpects to thy Grandfather, who I hear lies very ill. 'Tis to be fear'd that the good old Gentleman may be long afflicted with the uneaſiness he now complains of; one would think that a Man of his Age, who reckons upon Seventy Years, might refrain the ſhooting of Turtle-Doves. I've obſerv'd for a long time, that your old Folks are always in Motion and Action, which is the ready way to exhauſt ſpeedily the little Strength that's left 'em. I'll tell thee, *Adario*, thou muſt ſend one of thy Slaves for my Surgeon, who underſtands Phyſick well enough; for I'm morally aſſur'd that he'l give him eaſe in a Minute: This Feaver is ſo inconſiderable that it can't reach his Life, unleſs it reaches to a greater height.

Adario. Thou knoweſt very well, my dear Brother, that I have been a mortal Enemy to your Phyſicians, ever ſince I ſaw ten or twelve Perſons die in their Hands, through the tyranny of their Remedies. My Grandfather that you take to be Seventy Years old is full Ninety eight. He Marry'd at Thirty Years of Age; my Father was Marry'd at Thirty two, and I am now Thirty five Years old. 'Tis true he is of a [160] ſtrong Conſtitution, and that this Age could not be attain'd in *Europe*, where People die earlier. One of theſe Days I'll ſhew you fourteen or fifteen old Men that are turn'd of a Hundred, nay one of 'em a Hundred and twenty four. I

knew another that dy'd ſix Years ago at the Age of a Hundred and forty.[1] As for the reſtleſs Life that you find fault with in our old Men, I can aſſure you on the contrary, that if they lay loytering upon their Mats in the Huts, and did nothing but Eat, Drink and Sleep, they would become heavy and dull and unfit for Action; and for as much as their continuall reſt would hinder the inſenſible Tranſpiration, the Humours then recoyling would rejoin the Blood, and thus by a natural effect their Limbs and Kidneys would be ſo infeebled and waſted, that a mortal Phthiſick would enſue. This is an Obſervation of long ſtanding, that proves true in all the Nations of *Canada*. The Jugglers are to be here preſently to try their Skill, and to find out what Meat or Fiſh is requiſite for the cure of this Diſtemper. My Slaves are now ready to go either a Hunting or Fiſhing, and if you'l tarry an Hour or two with me, you ſhall ſee the apiſh tricks of theſe Mountebanks, whom we know to be ſuch when we are well, and yet ſend for 'em with great impatience when any dangerous Diſtemper ſeizes us.

Lahontan. You muſt conſider, my dear *Adario*, that in ſuch caſes our Mind is ſick as well as the Body. We in *Europe* do the ſame thing by our Phyſicians. When a Man enjoys his Health he hates and avoids the Phyſicians; but when he apprehends himſelf out of order, notwithſtanding that he knows the uncertainity of their Art, he calls a Conſultation of a Dozen: Some who have no other Illneſs than what Fancy ſuggeſts, [161] do melt down their Bodies by ſuch Remedies

[1] On the subject of Indian longevity, see p. 431, note 2, *ante*.— Ed.

as would kill a Horſe. I own, indeed, that you have no ſuch Fools among you; but to make the Parallel even, you take no care of your Health; for you run at the Hunting ſtark naked from Morning to Night; you dance three or four Hours an end till you ſweat again, and the playing at the Ball in a Company of ſix or ſeven Hundred Perſons on a ſide, to toſs it half a League one way or t'other, is an infinite Fatigue to your Bodies; it infeebles the Parts, diſperſes the Spirits, ſowers the maſs of Blood and Humours, and breaks the union of their Principles. At this rate a Man that might otherwiſe have liv'd a Hundred Years is ſweep'd off at Eighty.

Adario. Suppoſing all you ſay to be true, what ſignifies it for a Man to live ſo long, ſince Life is a ſort of Death after that Age? Perhaps your Reaſons may bear as to the *French*, the generality of whom being lazy and ſlothful, have an averſion to all manner of violent Exerciſes. They are of the ſame temper with our ſuperannuated Perſons, that live in ſuch a ſtupid inſenſible way; that they never ſtir out of their Huts but when they take Fire. Our Temperaments and Complexions are as widely different from yours as Night from Day: And that remarkable difference that I obſerve between the *Europeans* and the People of *Canada*, upon all things in general, is to me an Argument that we are not deſcended of your pretended *Adam*. Among us you ſhan't hear in an Age, of one that is Hunch-back'd, or Lame, or Dwarfiſh, or Deaf, or Dumb, or Blind from their Infancy, and far leſs any that is One-ey'd; for when a one-ey'd Creature comes into the World among us, we look upon it as a Preſage of the enſuing

Calamity [162] of the Nation, and have frequently experienc'd the truth of the Prophecy. A one-ey'd Creature is equally deſtitute of Senſe and of an upright Heart; he is Malicious, Goatiſh and Slothful to the laſt degree; he is more cowardly than a Hare, and never goes a Hunting for fear of running his one Eye againſt the Branch of a Tree. As for our Diſeaſes, we know no ſuch thing as your *Dropſies*, *Aſthmas*, *Palſy's*, *Gout* and *Pox*. The *Leproſy*, the *Lethargy*, *External Swellings*, the *Suppreſſion of Urine*, the *Stone* and the *Gravel*, are Diſtempers that we are not acquainted with; to the great Aſtoniſhment of the *French*, who are ſo liable to 'em. *Fevers* indeed reign among us, eſpecially upon our return from any Warlike Expedition, and proceed from our lying in the open Air, our croſſing of Marſhes, wading over Rivers, our faſting two or three Days at a time, eating cold Victuals, *&c.* Sometimes *Pleuriſies* prove mortal to us, when we heat our ſelves with running, whether in Military or Hunting Adventures, and then drink ſuch Water as we are unacquainted with: And *Colicks* attack us now and then upon the ſame occaſion. We are ſubject to the *Meazles* and the *Small Pox*, and that we owe to one of two Reaſons. Either we eat ſo much Fiſh, that the Blood it produces is of a different temper from that proceeding from Meat, and thereupon boils in the Veſſels with greater Violence, and throws out its thick and coarſe Particles upon the inſenſible Pores of the Skin. Or elſe the bad Air pen'd up in our Villages for want of Windows to our Huts, makes ſo much Fire and Smoak, that the diſproportion between the Particles of the confin'd Air and thoſe of our Blood and

Humours, gives riſe to ſuch Infirmities. Now theſe are the only Diſtempers that viſit us.

[163] *Labontan.* This, my dear *Adario*, is the firſt time I have heard thee reaſon juſtly ſince the Commencement of our Conferences. I acknowledge, you are exempted from an infinity of Evils that lie heavy upon us, and the reaſon of this Happineſs may be gather'd from what you offer'd t'other Day, namely, *That the repoſe of one's Mind is the greateſt Ingredient of Health.* The *Hurons* being confin'd to the bare knowledge of Hunting, do not fatigue their Spirits, and impair their Healths, in the purſuit of an infinity of fine Sciences, in watching unſeaſonably, breaking their reſt and toiling hard at the ſtudious Anvil. With us, a Man bred to the Sword makes it his buſineſs to read and know the Hiſtory of the Wars that have happen'd in the World, and to make himſelf acquainted with the Art of Fortifying, Attacking and Defending Places: This ingroſſes his whole time, which after all is too little to procure him the Accompliſhments he deſires. A Man that takes to the Church plyes the Study of *Theology* Night and Day, for the good and intereſt of Religion; he writes Books to inſtruct People in the concerns of their Salvation, and Dedicating to God the Hours, the Days, the Months, and the Years of his Life, receives after this Life an Eternal Inheritance by way of Recompence. Our Judges apply themſelves to the knowledge of the Laws Night and Day, they examin Bills and Proceſſes; they give continual Audience to an infinity of Plaintiffs that teaze 'em without Intermiſſion; in fine they can ſcarce ſpare leiſure to Eat or Drink. Our

Phyſicians purſue the Science of rendring Men Immortal, they run about from Patient to Patient, from Hoſpital to Hoſpital, in order to learn the Nature and the Cauſe of different Diſtempers: They rack [164] their Brains in unlocking the Qualities of Drugs, Herbs and Simples, by a thouſand uncommon and curious Experiments. The *Coſmographers* and *Aſtronomers* bend all their thoughts upon the diſcovery of the Figure, Magnitude and Compoſition of Heaven and Earth. The former can trace the leaſt Star in the Firmament, they meaſure its courſe, its diſtance from the Ecliptick, its aſcenſion and declination: The latter know how to diſtinguiſh Climates, and the various Poſitions of the Globe of the Earth; they are acquainted with the Seas, Lakes, Rivers, Iſles, Gulfs; they compute the diſtances of one Country from another; and in fine, all the Nations of the World are known to them, as well as their Religions, their Laws, their Languages, their Cuſtoms, and their various Forms of Government. To wind up all into one Word, all the Profeſſors of Sciences are very ſenſible that they purſue their Studies with too much Application, and thereby murder their Health. For the animal Spirits are not ſtrain'd out in the Brain, but in proportion to the ſupplies of fine Blood that it receives from the Heart; and the Heart being a Muſcle can't ſquirt out the Blood into all the parts of the Body without the Influence of the animal Spirits. Now, when the Soul is Serene and all Tranquility as thine is, the Brain ſupplies all the parts of the Body with as much as they have occaſion for in order to perform the Offices allotted 'em by Nature: Whereas in the caſe of a profound

Application to Sciences, the Soul being toſs'd and perplex'd with a croud of Thoughts, the Spirits are much exhauſted and diſpers'd, both by long watchings and by the racking of the Imagination. In this caſe all the Spirits that the Brain can form are ſcarce ſufficient to recruit the parts employ'd by the Soul [165] in the precipitant Motions it calls for; and there being but a ſmall Stock of Spirits in the Nerves, which convey 'em to the parts that miniſter to the Digeſtion of what we eat, their Fibres have a languid drooping motion: And thus it comes to paſs that the Actions of the Body are lamely perform'd, the Digeſtion is imperfect, the Serum flies off from the Blood, and by falling upon the Head, the Limbs, the Nerves, the Breaſt and other parts, gives riſe to the Dropſy, Gout, and Palſy; and to all the other Diſeaſes you took notice of but now.

Adario. At that rate, my dear Brother, it muſt be only the Learned Men that fall into ſuch Diſorders: And upon that foot, I hope you'll own that one had better be a *Huron* than a *Science-Hunter*, conſidering that Health is the moſt valuable of all good things. But at the ſame time, I know very well that theſe Diſtempers have no reſpect of Perſons, but fall upon the Ignorant as well as thoſe of a greater Character. Not that I deny what thou ſayeſt, for I am fully convinc'd that *Brain-Work* infeebles the Body extreamly; and I have often wonder'd how your Conſtitution comes to be ſo ſtrong, as to keep up againſt the violent Shocks of Diſcontent and Fret, that you feel when things go croſs with you. I have ſeen ſome *French*

Men tear their Hair, others cry and weep bitterly like Women Burning at a Stake, others again abſtain from eating or drinking for two days, and ſuffer ſuch violent Sallies of Paſſion as to daſh every thing in pieces that came in their way: And when all came to all, their Health did not appear to be affected. Queſtionleſs, their Nature muſt be different from ours; for there's never a *Huron* in the World that would not die in a days time upon incountring the hundredth part of ſuch Tranſports. Ay, moſt certainly, [166] you are of a different Mould from us; for your Wines, your Brandy, and your Spices, make us Sick unto death; whereas you can't live forſooth without ſuch Drugs: Beſides, your Blood is Salt and ours is not; you have got Beards, and we have none. Nay farther; I have obſerv'd that before you paſs the Age of thirty five or forty, you are Stronger and more Robuſt than we; for we can't carry ſuch heavy Loads as you do till that Age; but after that your Strength dwindles and viſibly declines, whereas ours keeps to its wonted pitch till we count fifty five or ſixty years of Age. This is a truth that our young Women can vouch for. They tell you that when a young *French-man* obliges 'em ſix times a night, a young *Huron* do's not riſe to above half the number; and with the ſame Breath they declare, that the *French* are older in that Trade at thirty five, than the *Hurons* are at fifty years of Age. This intelligence given in by our good Girles, who are better pleas'd with your young Men's over-doing, than with the Moderation of our Youths; This intelligence, I ſay, led me to think that

your Gout, Dropſy, Phthiſick, Palſy, Stone, and Gravel, and the other Diſtempers above mention'd, are certainly occaſion'd, not only by the immoderateneſs of theſe Pleaſures, but by the unſeaſonableneſs of the time, and the inconveniency of the way in which you purſue 'em; for when you have but juſt done eating, or are newly come off a fatiguing bout, you lie with your Women as often as ever you can, and that either upon Chairs, or in a Standing Poſture, without conſidering the Damage that accrues from ſuch indiſcretion: Witneſs the common practice of theſe young Sparks in the Village of *Doſſenra*, who make their Table ſerve for a Bed. For the purpoſe; you are ſubject to two Diſeaſes more, [167] that we are free from. The firſt is that call'd by the *Illineſe*, *the hot Diſtemper*, for that People are liable to it as well as thoſe who live upon the *Miſſiſipi*. This Malady goes by the Name of the *Venereal Diſtemper* in your Country. The other is that you call the *Scurvy*, which we Style, the *cold evil*, with regard to the Symptoms and Cauſes of that Diſtemper, that we have obſerv'd ſince the Arrival of the *French* in *Canada*. You ſee therefore that you are liable to a great many Diſeaſes, and thoſe ſuch as are not eaſily Cur'd. Inſtead of retrieving your Health, your Phyſicians murder you, by exhibiting Remedies calculated for their own Intereſt, which ſpin out the Diſtemper and kill you at laſt. A Phyſician would be ſtill Poor if he cur'd his Patients ſpeedily. The men of that Profeſſion are cautious of approving of our way of Sweating; for they know the conſequence of it too well, and when their Advice is ask'd upon the matter,

their Anſwer is to this purpoſe. *None but fools are capable of imitating fools; the Savages have not the name of Savages for nothing; and their Remedies are as Savage as themſelves. If 'tis true that after Sweating, they throw themſelves into cold Water or into Snow, without preſent death; their good luck is owing to the Air of the Climate, and to their way of Feeding, which differs from ours. But notwithſtanding this favourable Circumſtance, ſuch and ſuch a Savage, that would otherwiſe have outliv'd a hundred years of age, was cut off at eighty by the uſe of that terrible Remedy.* Such is the Language of your Phyſicians, by which they mean to ſcare the *Europeans* from the uſe of our Remedies: Tho' at the ſame time, 'tis certain that if you had a mind to Sweat after our way now and then, you might do it with the greateſt eaſe and ſafety in the World, and by that means all the evil Humours engendred in [168] your Blood by your Wine, your Spices, your intemperate Venery, your Unſeaſonable Watching and your other Fatigues, would be evacuated by the Pores of the Skin. Were this Method follow'd, you might bid an eternal Adieu to Phyſick, and all its Poiſonous Ingredients. This, my dear Brother, is as manifeſt as the Sun-Shine; tho' 'twill not go down with the Ignorant, who talk of nothing but Pleuriſies and Rheumatiſms, as the Conſequents of this Cure. 'Tis ſtrange, methinks, they will not give Ear to the Anſwer we make to the Objection Started by your Phyſicians againſt our way of Sweating. 'Tis an undiſputed Truth that Nature is a good kind Mother, which deſires to eterniſe our Lives; and yet we plague and torment her ſo violently, that ſome-

times ſhe's brought to a low and weak condition, and is ſcarce able to Succour us. Our Debauches and Fatigues create deprav'd Humours, which Nature would throw out of the Body, if She had but Strength enough to open the Gates, *viz.* the Pores of the Skin. 'Tis true ſhe expells as much as ſhe can, by Urine and Stool, by the Mouth, Noſe, and inſenſible Tranſpiration: But ſometimes the quantity of the Seroſities is ſo overbearing that they overflow all the parts of the Body between the Skin and the Fleſh: And in that caſe 'tis our buſineſs to procure their egreſs the ſpeedyeſt and ſhorteſt way, for fear their longer ſtay ſhould give riſe to this Gout, Rheumatiſm, Dropſy, Palſy, and all the other Diſtempers that ſink a healthy State. Now, to compaſs this end, we muſt unlock the Pores by the means of Sweating; and withal take care to ſhut 'em ſoon after, leſt the nutritive juice ſhould glide out by the ſame paſſage; which can be no otherwiſe prevented than by throwing our ſelves into cold Water, as we uſually do. [169] 'Tis the ſame caſe as if Wolves were got into your Sheep Folds; for then you would open the Doors that the miſchievous Animals might turn out; but after they're once out of Doors, you would not fail to ſhut 'em again for fear your Sheep ſhould run after 'em. I own indeed that your Phyſicians ſay well, when they plead that a Man who has over-heated himſelf by Hunting or any violent Exerciſe, indangers his Life by throwing himſelf immediately into cold Water. That I take to be an unconteſted truth; for the Blood which in that Caſe is agitated and boils as it were in the Veins, would certainly congeal; juſt as boiling Water congeals ſooner than cold Water, when

expos'd to the Froſt or put into a cold Fountain. This is the Sum of my Thoughts upon that Head. As to what remains, I grant we are liable to Diſeaſes, that equally invade both us and the *French;* namely, the Small-Pox, Fevers, Pleuriſies, and ſometimes to what you call the Hypochondriac Illneſs: For we have ſome Fools among us who fancy they are poſſeſs'd by a little *Manitou* or Spirit of the bigneſs of one's Fiſt; which in our Language we call *Aoutaerobi;* and affirm that this Spirit is lodg'd in their Body, and particularly in a certain Member that ails never ſo little. This imaginary Diſtemper proceeds from their Simplicity and weakneſs of Mind: For in ſhort, we are not without ignorant fooliſh Fellows among us, no more than you. You may ſee every day ſome *Hurons*, above fifty years of Age, who have leſs Senſe and Diſcretion than a young Girl; ſome who are as Superſtitious as your ſelves, in believing that the Spirit of Dreams is the Ambaſſadour and Meſſenger whom the Great Spirit imploys to acquaint Men with their Duty. As for our Jugglers, they are Mountebanks and Cheats of the ſame form with your Phyſicians; [170] only they content themſelves with the having of good Chear at their Patient's coſt, without ſending 'em to the other World in acknowledgment of their Feaſts and Preſents.[1]

Lahontan. My deareſt *Adario*, I honour thee beyond all expreſſion, for now thou argueſt juſtly. You never ſpoke more to the purpoſe in your life time. Every word you have ſaid

[1] The feast was one of the chief ceremonies connected with the efforts of the medicine men to expel disease; in this, the conjurer played the part of host. See *Jes. Rel.*, x, pp. 179, 183, 197; l, p. 295.—Ed.

of Sweating is abſolutely true; and I know it to be ſo by experience, inſomuch that while I live, I will never uſe any other Remedy than your way of Sweating. But at the ſame time, I would not have you run down Bleeding, ſo much as you did t'other day, when you endeavour'd by a multiplicity of Arguments to make out the neceſſity of ſaving our Blood, as being the Treaſure of Life. I do not diſpute its being the Treaſure of Life; but I muſt needs ſay that your Remedies againſt Pleureſies and Inflamations, take effect only by chance, for out of twenty Sick People commonly fifteen die; whereas Bleeding in ſuch a caſe might Cure 'em all. I own that this method of Cure ſhortens their lives, and that a man that has Bled often can't hold out ſo long as another that has done it but ſeldom; but a Man lying on a Sick Bed, wants to be cur'd at any rate, and thinks of nothing elſe but the preſent recovery of his Health; tho' it ſhould coſt him the Subſtraction of ſome years from his life, together with the loſs of his Blood. In fine, all the Remarks I have made on the Subject in hand, center in this; that the People of *Canada* have a better Complexion than the *Europeans*, that they are more Indefatigable and Robuſt, more inur'd to Watching, Faſting and other hardſhips, more inſenſible of Cold and Heat; inſomuch that they are not only exempted from the Paſſions that tumble and diſturb *our* Souls, but likewiſe ſhelter'd from the Infirmities that *we* groan under. You are [171] poor and miſerable, but at the ſame time you have the benefit of perfect health: But we who enjoy the Conveniences of Life and the Inſtruments of Eaſe, are forc'd either thro' Complaiſance or

by the occaſional Adventures of life, to Murder our ſelves by an infinity of Debauches, to which you are never expos'd.

Adario. My Brother, I come to Viſit thee, and am accompany'd by my Daughter, who is about to Marry, againſt my Will, a young Man that's as good a Warriour as he's a ſorry Huntſman. She has a mind to't; and that is enough in our Country: But 'tis not ſo in *France*, where the Parents muſt conſent to the Marrying of their Children. I am oblig'd to comply with my Daughter's demands: For if I pretend to Marry her again, ſhe'd quickly return upon me; *What do you think Father! Am I your Slave? Shall not I enjoy my Liberty? Muſt I for your fancy, Marry a Man I do not care for? How can I endure a Husband that buys my Corps of my Father, and what value ſhall I have for ſuch a Father as makes Brokerage of his Daughter to a Brute? And how can I have an affection for the Children of a Man I cannot love? If I ſhould Marry him in obedience to you, and go from him in fifteen days time, as the Priviledges and natural Liberties of the Nation would allow; you'll tell me 'tis not well done; and 'twould trouble you, all the World would laugh at it, and perhaps I might prove with Child.* Thus, dear Brother, would my Girl anſwer me, and it may be a great deal worſe, as it happened ſome years ago to one of our old Men, who pretended to Marry his Daughter to a Man ſhe did not love, for in my Preſence ſhe ſaid a great many harſh things by way of Reproach: Inſinuating that a Man of Spirit ought not to expoſe himſelf, in offering to adviſe a Perſon from whom he may [172] receive ſuch affronts; neither ought he to

require ſuch reſpects from his Children as he knows to be impracticable. She added then, *'twas true ſhe was his Daughter, and he might be ſatisfied. He got her upon a Woman he loved as much as ſhe hated the Husband her Father had provided for her.* You muſt know, we never have a Marriage contracted between Relations, let the degree be never ſo remote.[1] Our Women never Marry again after they're forty years of Age, becauſe the Children they have after that Age are generally of a weakly Conſtitution. Not that they are the more Continent for this: On the contrary, you'll find them more paſſionately inclin'd than a Girl of twenty. And 'tis for this reaſon that they entertain the *French* ſo kindly; nay, and ſometimes give themſelves the trouble to follow them. However you know that our Women are not ſo Fruitful as the *French*, tho' they admit of more frequent Embraces; which to me is very ſtrange, for 'tis quite contrary to what might be expected.

Lahontan. 'Tis for the ſame reaſon, my poor *Adario*, that they Conceive not ſo eaſily as ours. If they did not indulge themſelves too much in the frequency of Embraces, and receive 'em with an over-bearing Keenneſs, the Matter calculated for the production of Children, would have time to aſſume the neceſſary qualities for the buſineſs of Generation. It's the ſame caſe with a Field that is Sowed continually without being ſuffered to ly Fallow, for at laſt it will produce nothing (as Experience plainly ſhews;) on the other ſide, if you forbear the Ground, the Earth regains its force, the

[1] Marriage between members of the same gens was forbidden among many of the Indian tribes, as such persons were assumed to be consanguine.— ED.

Serene Air, the Rain and the Sun give it a new Sap, which makes the Seed to Sprout. But prithee, my dear Friend, ſuffer me to ask thee one Queſtion. What is the reaſon that the Women-Savages, being ſo rarely [173] Fruitful, have the Increaſe of their Nation ſo little in view, that a Woman ſhall make her ſelf Miſcarry when the Father of the Child dies, or is kill'd, before ſhe is brought to Bed? You'll tell me, ſhe do's it to ſave her Reputation; becauſe, without that Precaution ſhe would never have another Husband. But it would ſeem the Intereſt of the Nation, which lies in its Increaſe and Multiplication, is but little regarded by your Women. Now, it is not ſo with ours, for, as you ſaid t'other day, our *Coureurs de Bois* and many others, find very often new Children in their Houſes, at their return from their Journeys: But they are not much diſſatisfied, upon the conſideration, that this adds ſo many Bodys for the Nation, and ſo many Souls for Heaven: Tho' after all, their Women undergo as much diſgrace upon ſuch occaſions as yours do, and ſometimes are Impriſoned for Life, while yours are allow'd to entertain as many Gallants as they pleaſe afterwards. 'Tis a moſt abominable piece of Cruelty for a Woman to make away with her Child: A Crime which the Author of Life will never pardon: And this is one of the greateſt Abuſes to be reformed among you. You ought to diſcountenance Nakedneſs too; for the liberty which your Boys have of going Naked, makes a terrible Hurricane in the Minds of your young Girls; as they are not made of Braſs, ſo the view of thoſe parts which decency forbids me to name, can't but call up the Amorous Fire,

eſpecially when the young Wantons ſhew that Nature is neither dead nor untrue to the Adventures of Love.

Adario. I take it, you account for the Barrenneſs of our Women admirably; for I perceive how that may come to paſs: And as for the Criminal Practice of our young Women in taking [174] Potions to make themſelves Miſcarry; I find your Reflections upon it are very juſt. But what you ſay of Nakedneſs do's not ſtand to Reaſon. I allow that in a Nation where diſtinctions of Property are acknowledg'd, you are very much in the right of it, to cover not only ſuch parts as ought not to be nam'd, but even all the parts of the Body. What uſe would the *French* make of their Gold and their Silver, if they did not imploy it in providing themſelves with fine Cloaths? Since in your Country Men are valued according to their Dreſs, is it not a great advantage to be able to cover any Defect in Nature with a handſome Habit? In earneſt, Nakedneſs ought not to offend any but ſuch as allow Property. A deform'd or decrepit Man among you has found the Secret of appearing Handſome or well Dreſs'd, in a Beau Perriwig and fine Cloaths; under which 'tis impoſſible to diſtinguiſh Artificial Shapes from ſuch as are Natural. Beſides, 'twould be a great inconveniency for the *Europeans* to go Naked; for thoſe who are well provided would then find ſo much Imployment, and earn ſo much Mony for good Services, that they would not dream of Marrying as long as they liv'd; not to mention that the promiſing Aſpect would tempt the Married Women to violate their Conjugal Vows. Now, theſe reaſons can have no place among us, where every thing muſt

fit, whether great or little, for the young Women taking a view of the Naked parts, make their choice by the Eye: And for as much as Nature has obſerv'd the meaſures of Proportion in both Sexes, any Woman may be well aſſur'd what ſhe has to expect from a Husband. Our Women are as Fickle as yours, and [175] for that reaſon the moſt deſpicable Man here never deſpairs of having a Wife; for as every thing appears naked and open to ſight, ſo every Girl chooſes according to her Fancy, without regarding the meaſures of Proportion. Some love a well ſhaped Man let a certain matter about him be never ſo little. Others make choice of an ill ſhap'd ſorry like Fellow, by reaſon of the goodly ſize of I know not what; and others again pick out a Man of Spirit and Vigour tho' he be neither well ſhap'd nor well provided in [the] nameleſs Quarter.

This, my dear Brother, is all the Anſwer I have to give to your Charge upon the ſcore of Nudity; which you know lies only againſt the Youths; for our married Men and Widows cover themſelves both before and behind with a great deal of Nicety. And, beſides, to make ſome Compenſation for the Nudity of our Boys, our Girls are Modeſter than yours, for they expoſe nothing to open view but the Calf of their Leg, whereas yours lay their Breaſts open in ſuch a Faſhion that our young Men run their Noſes into 'em when they bargain about the Beaver Skins with your handſom She-merchants. Is not this a Grievance among the *French* that wants to be Redreſs'd? For I have it from very good Hands, that ſcarce any *French* Woman can reſiſt the temptation of an

object that's mov'd by her naked Breaſts. A due reformation of this indecent Cuſtom would be a means to preſerve their Husbands from the Chimerical Diſtemper of Horns, which you plant upon their Foreheads without ever touching or ſeeing them, and that by a Miracle I can't fathom: For if I plant an Apple-tree in a Garden it does not grow upon the top of a Rock; and in like manner one would think your inviſible Horns ſhould take root only [176] in the place where their Seed is ſown, and appear in the Foreheads of the Women, as being a juſt repreſentation of the Husbands and the Spark's Tools. In fine, this whim of the Horns is a horrid piece of Indiſcretion; for why ſhould you affront the Husband becauſe his Wife takes her Pleaſure? If in Marriage a Man marries a Woman's Vices, then the *French* way of Marriage is an Oath that runs counter to right Reaſon, or elſe a Man muſt keep his Wife under Lock and Key to avoid the diſhonour of her Vices. The Husbands that retain to the horned Liſt muſt needs be very numerous; for I can't imagine that a Woman can brook the ſeverity of an eternal Chain, without having recourſe to ſome good Friend to ſoften her Affliction. I ſhould pardon the *French* if they made the Marriage to ſtand only upon certain Conditions, that is upon the *Proviſo* that the Woman have Children, and that both ſhe and her Husband keep their Health, ſo as to be able to diſcharge the Marriage Duties as they ought to do. This is all the Regulation that can be made in a Nation that ſtands to *Meum* and *Tuum*. —— You *Chriſtians* have another impertinent Cuſtom, which I can't but take notice of. Your Men glory in the

Debauching of Women, as if yielding to the Temptations of Love were not equally Criminal in either Sex. Your young Sparks uſe their utmoſt Efforts to tempt the Maids and married Women; they ſet all means at work to compaſs their end; and when Maſters of their Wiſhes talk publickly of the Adventure; upon which every body Cenſures the Lady, and cries up the Cavalier, whereas the former merits a Pardon, and the latter deſerves to be Puniſh'd. How d'ye think your Women ſhould be Faithful to you, if you are Faithleſs to them? If the [177] married Men keep their Cracks, will not their Wives keep Company with other Lovers? And if a Husband prefers Gaming and Drinking to his Wive's Company, will not his Wife Solace her ſelf in the Company of a Friend? Would you have your Wives to be Wiſe and Diſcreet, and like ours, you muſt Love 'em as your ſelves, and take care not to ſell 'em; for I know ſome Husbands among you, that conſent as ſhamefully to the Debauching of their Wives, as ſome Mothers do to the Proſtituting of their Daughters, and in ſuch caſes Neceſſity obliges 'em to it. From hence it appears, that 'tis a great Happineſs for the *Hurons* that they are not reduc'd to the practice of ſuch mean Actions, as Miſery occaſions among thoſe who are not inur'd to it. We are at all times neither rich nor poor, and our Happineſs upon this ſcore goes far beyond all your Riches; for we are not forc'd to expoſe our Wives and Daughters to ſale, in order to live upon their Drudgery in the way of Love. You'l ſay our Wives and Daughters are fooliſh and ſimple; and indeed I grant the Allegation, for they can't write *Billet*

dou's to their Acquaintances as yours do; nay, if they could write they have not the ſenſe to ſingle out by the Rules of Phyſiognomy a faithful old Woman that ſhall carry their Love-letters, and obſerve a profound Silence. O! that curſed Writing; that pernicious Invention of the *Europeans* who tremble at the ſight of their own *Chimera's*, which they draw themſelves, by the ranking and diſpoſal of three and twenty ſmall Figures, that are Calculated, not for the Inſtruction but for the Perplexing of Men's Minds. According to your Notions of things, the *Hurons* are likewiſe fooliſh in not minding the loſs of a Maiden-head in the Girls they take in Marriage, and in [178] condeſcending to marry the very Women that their own Companions have turn'd off: But prithee tell me, Brother, are the *French* the wiſer for fancying that a Girl is a Maid becauſe ſhe cries and ſwears 'tis ſo? Nay, ſuppoſing her to be a true Maid, is the Conqueſt the greater? No, ſure, on the contrary the Husband is oblig'd to teach her a Trade that ſhe'll practiſe with others at a time when he is not in a condition to continue the daily Exerciſe. As for our marrying Women ſeparated from former Husbands, is not that the ſame thing as marrying a Widow, with this difference only, that our Women have all reaſon to be perſwaded that we Love 'em, whereas your Widows have reaſon to believe that you marry their Riches rather than their Perſons. How many Families are reduc'd to diſorder or Ruin by ſuch Marriages with Widows? But after all you do not pretend to redreſs ſuch diſorders, becauſe the evil is incurable as long as the Conjugal Tye laſts for Life. Once more,

I'll take the liberty to mention another piece of Madneſs practis'd among you, which indeed is down right Cruelty to my Mind. Your Marriages are indiſſolvable, and yet a Youth and a Girl that burn in the mutual flames of Love, can't marry without the conſent of their Parents. Both the one and the other muſt marry who their Fathers pleaſe, in oppoſition to their own Inclination, tho' their Averſion to the Perſon propos'd be ſo great, that they hate him mortally. The inequality of Age, Eſtate and Birth is the ſource of all theſe Inconveniences; they overrule the mutual Love of the two Parties that like one another. What Cruelty! What Tyranny! and that practis'd by a Father upon his own Children. Do you meet with ſuch things among the *Hurons?* Among them [179] every one's as Rich and as Noble as his Neighbour; the Women are entitled to the ſame Liberty with the Men, and the Children enjoy the ſame Privileges with their Fathers. A young *Huron* may marry one of his Mother's Slaves, and neither Father nor Mother are impower'd to hinder him. This Slave by ſo doing becomes a free Woman; and ſince her Beauty pleaſes, why ſhould not the Youth prefer her to the great General's Daughter that is not ſo handſome? To continue the faults of your Conſtitution: Is it not a piece of Injuſtice among you who abhor a community of Goods, that a Nobleman or Gentleman ſhould give his eldeſt Son almoſt all that he has, and force the other Brethren and Siſters to reſt ſatisfied with a Trifle, tho' perhaps that eldeſt Son is not a Lawful Child, and all the reſt are? The Conſequence of this is, that they throw their Daughters into perpetual

Priſons, with a ſort of Barbarity which is not ſuitable to the Chriſtian Charity that the Jeſuits preach up. As for the other Sons, they are forc'd to turn Prieſts and Monks, in order to live by the fine Trade of praying to God againſt their will, of preaching what they do not practiſe, and of perſuading others into the belief of what they disbelieve themſelves. If any of 'em take up a Military Profeſſion, they deſign the pillaging the Nation more than the guarding off her Enemies. The *French* do not fight for the Intereſt of their Country as we do; 'tis their own Intereſt and preferment to higher Poſts that they have in view. The Love of their Country and of their Fellow-Citizens does not prevail ſo much with them as Vanity, Ambition and Riches. In fine, my dear Brother, I conclude this Diſcourſe in aſſuring thee, That the Chriſtians Self-love is a piece of Folly that [180] the *Hurons* will ever condemn; and that Folly which tinctures all your Actions is remarkable in a diſtinguiſhing manner in the way of your Amours and Marriages; which, I muſt ſay, is as unaccountable as the People are who ſuffer themſelves to be catch'd in that Nooſe.

Lahontan. *Adario*, you remember I ſet forth before, that the Actions of Rogues are no Standard for thoſe of honourable Men. I own the Juſtneſs of your Cenſure as to ſome Actions, which we alſo diſallow of. I acknowledge that the diſtinction of Property is the ſource of an infinity of Paſſions, of which you are clear'd. But if you take things by the right handle, eſpecially our way of making Love and Marrying, the good order of our Families, and the Education of our Children,

you'l find a wonderful Conduct in all our Conſtitutions. That Liberty which the *Hurons* preach up occaſions diſmal Diſorders. In their way the Children are Maſters as well as the Fathers; and Wives who ought naturally to be ſubject to their Husbands are inveſted with an equal Authority. The Daughters ſcorn the Advice of their Mothers when there's a Lover in the caſe. In a Word, all this ſcene of Liberty reduces the way of Life to a continued courſe of Debauchery, by granting to Nature, in Imitation of the Brutes, an unlimited ſatisfaction to all its Demands. Your ſingle Women place their Wiſdom in concerting and concealing their lewd Adventures. To run with *a Match in your Villages, is the ſame thing as ſtrolling after a Whore in ours. All your young Men roll from Hut to Hut upon ſuch Adventures while the Night laſts. The Doors of every Girls Chambers are open to all Gueſts, [181] and if a young Man comes that ſhe does not like ſhe pulls the covering over her Head, the meaning of which is, that ſhe is Proof againſt his Temptation: But if another comes, perhaps ſhe ſuffers him to ſit down on the Foot of her Bed, in order to a dry Conference, without going farther; that is to ſay, ſhe has a mind to make a ſetter of this poor Fellow, that ſhe may have ſeveral Strings to her Bow. In comes a third, whom ſhe jilts with more refined Politicks, and allows to lye near her upon the Coverings of the Bed. But when this Spark is gone, in comes a fourth, to whoſe Embraces ſhe readily grants her Bed, and her ſpreading Arms, for two or three Hours to-

*i. e. *to enter into a Woman's Apartment in the Night time with a Light.*

gether; and tho' he is far from triffling away the time in empty Words, yet the World takes it to be ſo. Behold, my dear *Adario*, the Lewdneſs of the *Hurons*, diſguis'd with a Pretext of honeſt Converſation, and that ſo much the more that how indiſcreet ſo ever any of their Gallants may be to their Miſtreſſes (which rarely happens) the World is ſo far from giving Credit to 'em, that they brand 'em with Jealouſie, which amongſt you is a defamatory Affront. This being premis'd, 'tis no wonder that the *Americans* won't hear any thing of Amours in the Day time, upon the Plea that the Night was made for that purpoſe. In *France* this way of Intreguing is term'd *Cacher adroitment Son jeu*, dexterouſly to conceal ones Deſigns. If there's any thing of Wantonneſs and Debauchery amongſt our Wenches, there is at leaſt this difference, that the Rule is not General, as it is amongſt yours; and beſides they don't go ſo brutiſhly to work with it. The Amours of the *European* Women are Charming, they are Conſtant and Faithful to Death, and when they are ſo weak as to yield to a Lover the laſt Favours, they have a greater [182] regard to their inward Merit than to an outward Apperance; and 'tis not the gratifying of their own Paſſion that they have ſo much in view, as the deſire of giving their Lovers ſenſible Proofs of their Affection. The *French* Gallants ſeek to pleaſe their Miſtreſſes by Methods that are altogether agreeable, as by Reſpect, Attendance, and Complaiſance; they are Patient, Paſſionate, and always ready to Sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes for 'em. They lye ſighing a long time before they dare to attempt any thing, for they are reſolv'd

to merit the laſt Favour by long Services; they are ſeen upon their Knees at their Miſtreſſes Feet, to beg the priviledge of kiſſing the Hand; and as a Dog follows his Maſter, watching over him when he Sleeps, ſo 'mongſt us, a true Lover ne'er quits his Miſtreſs, nor ſhuts his Eyes, but that he may dream of her in his Sleep. If any one is found ſo hot upon't as bluntly to Embrace his Miſtreſs upon the very firſt occaſion, without any regard to her Weakneſs, he paſſes with us under the Character of a *Savage*, that is to ſay, a meer *Clown*, that begins where others leave off.

Adario. Ho, ho, my dear Brother; are the *French* e're a whit the wiſer for calling this ſort of People *Savage?* In truth, I did not believe that Word ſignify'd with you, a Prudent thinking Man. I'm glad with all my Heart at this piece of News, not doubting but one Day you may give the name of *Savage* to all the *French*, who will be wiſe enough to follow exactly the true Rules of Juſtice and Reaſon. Now the Myſtery is unriddled that prompts the cunning *French* Women to have ſuch a Love for Savage Creatures; they're not ſo much to blame for't, for in my mind, Time is too precious to loſe, and Youth too ſhort not to make the beſt of the Advantages [183] it throws in our Laps. If your Wenches are Conſtant in a continual change of Lovers, that may bear ſome reſemblance to the Humour of our Girls; but when they faithfully yield themſelves to be Careſs'd by three or four at a time, that's altogether different from the Temper of the *Hurons*. May the *French* Gallants ſpend their Lives in the Fooleries you ſpoke of but now, to conquer their

Miſtreſſes; may they ſpend their time and their Eſtates in purchaſing a ſmall Pleaſure, uſher'd in by a thouſand Troubles and Cares. I ſhan't offer to blame them, becauſe I have play'd the fool my ſelf, in running the riſque of Traverſing, in ſuch fooliſh Veſſels, the rough Seas that ſeparate *France* from this Continent, to have the pleaſure of ſeeing the Country of the *French*. This obliges me to hold my Peace; but reaſonable People will ſay, That your Amorous Crew are as fooliſh as I, but with this difference, that their Love paſſes blindly from one Miſtreſs to another, and expoſes 'em to the repetition of the ſame Torments; whereas I ſhall never take another Trip from *America* to *France*.

[185] AN

APPENDIX.

Containing Some New

VOYAGES

TO

Portugal and *Denmark.*

LETTER I.

Dated at *Lisbon*, *April* 20. 1694.

Containing a Deſcription of *Viana*, *Porto a Porto*, *Aveiro*, *Coimbra*, *Lisbon;* together with a View of the Court of *Portugal;* and an Account of the Government, Laws, Cuſtoms, Commerce and Humours of the *Portugueſe*.

SIR,

I BEGIN my letter with that ancient ſaying; *Una ſalus victis nullam ſperare ſalutem;* my meaning is, that after the receipt of ſome bad News relating to my buſineſs, I find I have Spirit enough to brave all the Jolts of Fortune. The Univerſe which Swallows and Jeſuits [186] take for their Country, muſt likewiſe be mine; till ſuch time as it pleaſes God to ſend to the other World, ſome Perſons that do him very little Service here.

I am glad my Memoirs of *Canada* pleaſe you, and that my Savage Style did not turn your Affection: Tho' after all, *you* have no reaſon to criticiſe upon my Jargon, for both you and I are of a Country, where no body can ſpeak *French* but when they are not able to open their Mouths: Beſides, 'twas not poſſible for me who went ſo young to *America*, to find out in that Country, the Myſtery of Writing Politely. That's a Science that is not to be learn'd among the Savages, whoſe Clowniſh Society is enough to faſten a brutiſh twang upon the Politeſt Man in the World. Since you preſs me to continue my Accounts of what new things I meet with, I willingly comply with your deſire; but you muſt not expect thoſe nice Deſcriptions you ſpeak of, for if I pretended to any ſuch thing, I ſhould expoſe my ſelf to the Deriſion of thoſe to whom you may ſhew my Letters. I am not ſufficiently qualify'd to outdo the curious Remarks that an infinity of Travellers have publiſh'd. 'Tis enough for me if I furniſh you with ſome private Memoirs of ſome things that other Travellers have Wav'd, as being beneath their regard: And for as much as theſe Memoirs treat of ſuch Subjects as were never yet handled in Print, you will meet with ſome Satisfaction upon the ſcore of their Novelty. With this View, I ſhall be very punctual in Writing to you from time to time, from whatever corner of the World my Misfortunes may lead me to; but upon this condition, that you ſhall take an exact care to let me have your Anſwers. In the mean time, I muſt acquaint you that I can't undertake to Frenchify [187] the

Foreign Names; and therefore ſhall Write 'em as the People of the Country do, leaving it to you to pronounce 'em as you pleaſe.

You remember I Writ to you about ten Weeks ago, that upon laying down three hundred Piſtoles to the Captain of the Ship that brought me from *Placentia* to *Viana*, I had the good luck to get a Shoar there; and ſo I ſhall reſume the thread of my Journal, from that place where I laſt took leave of it. I had no ſooner jump'd out of the Sloop, than a *French* Gentleman, who has ſerv'd the King of *Portugal* theſe four and thirty years † in the quality of a Captain of Horſe, came and offer'd me the uſe of his Houſe, for in that place there's no publick Houſes but ſuch as are Calculated for common Seamen. The next day this old Officer advis'd me to go and wait upon *Don John of Souza*, Governour General of the Province between the *Douro* and the *Minho*. He acquainted me farther, that every body gave him the Title of *L' Excellentia;* and that he gave the Title of *Senoria* only to the Gentlemen of the firſt Rank, and **Merced* to all the reſt. When I heard this, I choſe inſtead of ſpeaking *Spaniſh* to him, to make uſe of an Interpreter, who Metamorphos'd all the *You*'s of my Compliment into a *Portugueſe Excellentia*.

† *Since Monſieur de* Schomberg's *time.*

**A Title ſomewhat higher than* You.

Viana lies five Leagues to the Weſtward of *Braga*, and is inclos'd in a Right-Angle made by the Sea and the River *Lima*. Here I ſaw two Monaſteries of *Benedictine Nuns*, which

were ſo ill provided that they would Starve for Hunger, if their Relations and || Devoto's did not aſſiſt 'em. Upon the Sea Side there ſtands a very good Caſtle, Fortified after Count *Pagan*'s way: 'Tis covered [188] with ſeveral large Culverines, which guard off the Sallymen from Attacking the Veſſels that lye at Anchor in the Road. In this Road, the Ships are Shelter'd from the fourteen Points of the Wind, that lye between North and South, in by Eaſt. The River is a *havre de barre*, or * *Bar-Haven*, which no Ship ventures upon without calling out Pilots, by a Signal of a Gun or a Flag twiſted round. The Ships come all in at High Water, and when the Tide runs out are left dry, unleſs they Ride upon the Pit, which has always eight or ten Fathom at low Water.

|| i. e. *thoſe who have a reſpect for the* Nuns.

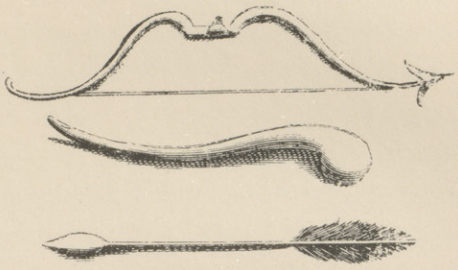
* i. e. *A Port that a Ship can't enter but at full Sea; for fear of touching the Sands or Flats. Bayonne, Bilbao, Stona, Viana, Porto, Aveirco, Mondego, and Lisbon, are all* Havres de Barre.

Febr. 4. I hir'd two Mules, one for my ſelf and another for my Man, at the rate of three *Spaniſh* Piaſters or Cobs; and put on ſo briskly that I arriv'd that Night at *Porto a Porto*, which was twelve Leagues off. Theſe Creatures Amble both faſt and ſmoothly, without Stumbling or tyring the Rider. Your Cavaliers have the conveniency of reſting themſelves when they will upon the Portmantles which are faſten'd to two Iron Rings at the Pummel of the Saddle. The Saddles of that Country are too hard for ſuch a Lean Man as me. The Road between *Viana* and *Porto a Porto* is Stony, but pretty good; the Ground lies upon a Level, the Proſpect is

A Bow

A Club call'd Casse-téte

an Arrow





A Savage taken in war and burnt by his Enemies



A woman that condemns to death a prisoner that is given her



A Savage Shot.



A woman that gives a prisoner his life



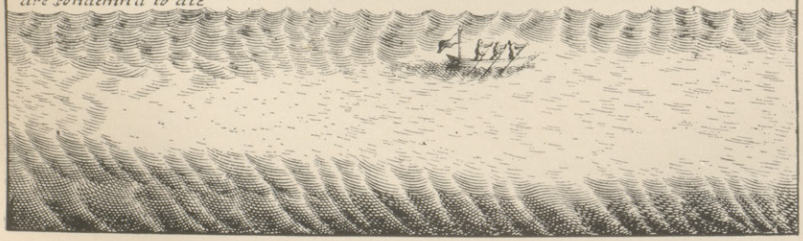
A Village



The beating of the prisoners that are condemn'd to die



The Savages returning to the Village.



pleaſant, and the Sea Side is adorn'd with ſeveral large Villages, the chief of which are *Expoſende*, *Faons*, and *Villa de Conde*. When I arriv'd at *Porto*, my Guide carry'd me to an *Engliſh* Inn, the only one that was fit to entertain Gentlemen. This City is cramm'd with *French*, *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Merchants, [189] who croud thither upon the account of the Commerce; tho' the latter have ſuffer'd by't ſufficiently, ſince the beginning of the War, by vertue of the Civility of our Privateers, who make no ſcruple to take their Ships. *Porto* ſtands upon the declivity of a Steep Hill, the Foot of which is Waſh d by the River *Douro*, that falls into the Sea a League lower upon a †*Barr*. This Bar which lies in the Mouth of the *Douro*, is ſo ſuſpected by Sailors, that they never approach to it, but when the Weather is good, and when they have ſome of the Pilots of the Country on Board; for upon the Sand of the Bar there are Rocks, ſome hidden and ſome ſeen, which render it inacceſſible to Strangers. A Ship of four hundred Tun may come over exactly at high Water; which is punctually the time that any Ship ought to make this River. Here we ſee a fine Key reaching from one end of the Town to the other, upon which every Veſſel is Laſh'd over againſt the owners Doors. In this River, I had

*A Bar, *properly ſpeaking, is a Bank of Sand, which commonly runs acroſs the Mouth of the Rivers that have not a ſufficient Rapidity to throw back into the Sea the Sands that are caſt in upon 'em, when the Winds blow hard from the Main. All* Bars *may be call'd Banks of Sand; for I never heard of a* Bar *conſiſting of a ridge of Rocks. Now this Sand riſes nearer to the Surface of the Water, like a little Hill in a Plain, ſo that Ships can't get over it but at high Water.*

the opportunity of viewing the *Braſil* Fleet, conſiſting of thirty two *Portugueſe* Merchantmen, the leaſt of which carry'd two and twenty Guns. I ſaw likewiſe ſeveral Foreign Ships, and particularly five or ſix *French* Privateers, that put in there to Buy Proviſions and Ammunition.

Porto is a Stately fine City, and well Pav'd; but its Scituation upon a Mountain is inconvenient, [190] in regard that it obliges one to be always upon the Aſcent or Deſcent. The Gallery of the Regular Canons of St. *Auſtin*'s is as curious a piece of Architecture for its uncommon length, as their Church is with reſpect to the roundneſs of its Figure, and the Riches of the inſide. In this City they have a Parliament, a Biſhoprick, Academies for the Exerciſes of young Gentlemen, and an Arſenal for the fitting out of the Men of War, that are Built every year near the Mouth of the River. I wonder that this Town is not better Fortified, eſpecially conſidering 'tis the Second City in *Portugal*. Its Walls are ſix Foot thick, and at certain diſtances ſhew us the Ruines of old Towers that time has levell'd with the Ground. They were built by the *Moors*, and are the moſt irregular piece of Work that thoſe times produc'd: So that you may eaſily gueſs whether 'twould be any hard matter to take this Town at the firſt Attack.

'Tis well for the *Portugueſe* that this Province, which is one of the beſt in *Portugal*, is almoſt inacceſſible to their Enemies whether by Sea or Land; the Sea Side being guarded by Barrs, and the Land by impracticable Mountains. 'Tis very

Populous, and all its Valleys which are full of Towns and Villages, afford great quantities of Wine and Olives, and feed numerous Flocks of Cattel, the Wool of which is pretty fine. This I Write upon the Information of ſome *French* Merchants, who are perfectly well acquainted with this Province. I am told that 'tis impoſſible to make the *Douro* Navigable, by reaſon of the Water-Falls and Currents that run between the prodigious Rocks. This, Sir, is all I know of the matter; ſo I hope you'll content your ſelf with it.

[191] The 10*th* I ſet out for *Lisbon* in a Sedan, which I Hir'd for eighteen thouſand ſix hundred *Reys*, a number of pieces that are enough to frighten thoſe who do not know that they are but *Deniers*. Since the *Portugueſe* State all their Accounts in this faſhion; I muſt acquaint you that a *Rey* is nothing elſe but a *Denier*, or the 12*th* part of a Penny; and that this numerous quantity of Pieces amounts to no more than twenty five *Piaſtres*. My Litter-Man ingag'd for this Fare to ſet me down at *Lisbon*, on the ninth day of *March;* tho' at the ſame time, he was oblig'd to go two or three Leagues out of his way, to ſatisfie the Curioſity I had to paſs by the way of *Aveiro*, where I arriv'd the next day.

Aveiro is a paltry little Town Seated on the Sea Side, and upon the Banks of a little River, Guarded by a Bar, which the Ships that draw under nine or ten foot Water, croſs at High Water by the direction of the Coaſting Pilots. 'Tis Fortified after the *Mooriſh* way, as well as *Porto*. In this place, there's as much Salt made as will ſerve two or three Provinces. 'Tis

adorn'd with a pretty Monaſtrey of Nuns, who give proof of their ancient Nobility and Origin from the † *Chriſtiaon Veilho.* The Country gives a moſt pleaſant Proſpect for three Leagues to the Eaſtward; that is, to the great *Lisbon* Road, which is Hemm'd in by a ridge of Mountains from *Porto* to *Coimbra.*

† i. e. Ancient Chriſtians, *a great Title of Honour in that Country, by reaſon of its being uncommon.*

The 14*th* I arriv'd at *Coimbra;* and when I talk'd of Seeing the Univerſity, my Sedan Man told me that this piece of Curioſity would ſtop me for a whole day: So that I can only tell you that this Univerſity you find mention'd in ſome Travels, is render'd Famous by the King of *Portugal*'s [192] Efforts, ever ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne, to make all Sciences flouriſh within its Walls. The Town affords nothing that's very remarkable, unleſs it be a double Stone Bridge, one above another, between which one may croſs the River without being ſeen; and two fine Convents, one for Monks, and another for Nuns, lying at the diſtance of fourty or fifty Paces from one another. *Coimbra* bears the Title of a Dutchy, and is Intitled to ſeveral conſiderable Prerogatives. It ſtands ſix Leagues off the Sea, at the Foot of a Steep Hill, upon which you may ſee the Churches and Monaſtries, and two or three fine Houſes. The Biſhoprick of this place which is Suffragran to *Braga*, is one of the beſt Biſhopricks in *Portugal.* The Road from *Coimbra* to *Lisbon* is Pleaſant, and affords a pretty Proſpect; the Country is pretty well Peopled.

I arriv'd at *Lisbon* the *Metropolis* of this Country on the 18*th*, and was not near ſo tyr'd as I was uneaſy in making uſe

of that ſlow way of Travelling which can ſuit none but Ladies and old Fellows. I had better have hir'd Mules, for then I might have gone through in five days time, and that for a very ſmall Charge; *viz.* thirteen *Piaſters* for me and my Servant. In the mean time, give me leave to tell you by the bye, that your tender Sparks would never be able to bear the inconveniency of the *Poſada*'s (or Inns) upon the Road: They have ſuch ſorry pitiful Accommodation, that the very Deſcription of 'em would be enough to ſcare you from going to *Lisbon*, tho' you had never ſo much buſineſs there. However I was as well ſatisfied, as if they had been the beſt Inns in *France;* for having ſpent the whole courſe of my Life in Scouring the Sea, the Lakes, and the Rivers of *Canada*, and having liv'd for the moſt part upon Roots and Water, [193] with a Bark Tent for my Canopy; I eat heartily of all that they ſet before me. You muſt know, Sir, the Landlord conducts the Paſſengers to a bye place that looks more like a Dungeon than a Chamber; and there you muſt ſtay with a great deal of patience, till he ſends you ſome Ragou's Seaſon'd with Garlick, Pepper, Chibbols, and a hundred Medicinal Herbs, the ſmell of which would turn an *Iroqueſe*'s Stomach. To compleat the nicety of your Entertainment, you muſt lye down upon Quilts or Mattreſſes ſpread out on Planks, without either Straw or Coverlets; and theſe Mattreſſes are no thicker than this Letter, ſo that 'twould require two or three hundred of 'em to make your Bed ſofter than Stones. 'Tis true, the Landlord finds you as many Quilts as you pleaſe for a Penny a piece, and takes the pains to ſhake 'em down, and beat off the Flea's,

Bugs, &c. But thank God, I had no occaſion to make uſe of 'em, for I ſtill kept my Hammock, which was eaſily hung up in any place I came to, by two large Iron Hooks. But after all, the account I now give you of the *Portugueſe* Inns, is all a Jeſt in compariſon with the *Spaniſh*, if we may credit Men of Reputation: And *that* I take to be the reaſon that Travellers pay little or nothing for their Fare either in the one or the other.

The next day after my Arrival at *Lisbon*, I waited upon the Abbot *d'Eſtrees;* whom the K. of *Portugal* has a great reſpect for, and who is ſo much eſteem'd by every body, that they juſtly give him the Title of *'O Mais Perfeito dos Perfeitos Cavalheiros*, i. e. *The moſt Accompliſh'd of the moſt Accompliſh'd Gentlemen.* His Equipage is Magnificent enough, tho' he has not yet made his publick Entry. His Family is kept in excellent Order; his Houſe is very well Furniſh'd, and his [194] Table is nice and well ſerv'd. Oftentimes he entertains the Perſons of Note, who would not viſit him, if he did not give 'em the Precedency. This piece of deference would have ſeem'd ridiculous, if the King his Maſter had not order'd it to be ſo in Mr. *D'Opede's* * time: For it looks very odd to ſee the meaneſt Enſign in the Army take the Right hand of an Ambaſſadour, who denys that Precedency to all the Miniſters of the Second Rate. The *Portugueſe* Noblemen and Gentlemen are Men of Honour and Honeſty, but they are ſo full of themſelves that they fancy themſelves the Pureſt and Ancienteſt Stock of Nobility and Gentry in the World.

* *He was formerly Ambaſſadour at this Court.*

Thoſe of diſtinguiſhing Titles expect your *Excellency* for their Compellation; and they are ſo tender of their Dignity, that they never viſit any one that lodges in a publick Houſe. None but Perſons of an Illuſtrious Birth are dignify'd with the Title of †*Don;* for the moſt honourable Poſts can't Intitle 'em to that Venerable Character; inſomuch that the Secretary of State, who is poſſeſs'd of one of the greateſt Poſts in the Kingdom, do's not pretend to aſſume it.

† *The Word is exactly of the ſame Importance with* Meſſire, *and with the* Spaniſh, Sire *or* Sieur, *which the* Coblers, *&c. claim as their due.*

The King of *Portugal* is of a large Stature, and well Made; he has a very good Meen, tho' his Complexion is ſomewhat Brown.[1] 'Tis ſaid, he is as conſtant in his Reſolutions, as in his Friendſhip. He is perfectly well acquainted with the State of his Country. He is ſo Liberal and full of Bounty, that he can ſcarce refuſe his Subjects the Favours they ask. The Duke of *Cadaval* his firſt Miniſter and Favourite has potent Enemies; [195] upon the account that he appears more Zealous for his Maſter than the other Courtiers; and at the ſame time, more hearty for the *French* Intereſt.

The Situation and various Proſpects of *Lisbon* would Entitle it to the Character of one of the fineſt Cities in *Europe*, if it were not ſo very naſty. It ſtands upon ſeven Mountains, from whence you have a View of the fineſt Land-Skip in the World, as well as of the Sea, the River *Taio*, and the Forts that guard the Mouth of the River. This Mountainous City puts the

[1] The king of Portugal was Pedro II of the house of Braganza; born in 1648, he succeeded his brother as king in 1683, and reigned until his death in 1706. — Ed.

People to a great inconvenience, that are forced to walk on foot; but this inconvenience affects Strangers and Travellers moſt, whoſe Curioſity is in ſome meaſure thwarted by the trouble of rambling ſtill upon aſcents and deſcents; for you can't have the accommodation of Hackny-Coaches, that are common elſewhere. Here we meet with Stately and Magnificent Churches; the moſt conſiderable of which are *La Ceu*, *Notre Dame de Loreto*, *San Vicente*, *San Roch*, *San Pablo*, and *Santo Domingo*. The *Benedictin* Monaſtery of St. *Bento* is the fineſt and beſt Indow'd Monaſtery that the Town affords; But laſt Month part of its fine Fabrick was Burnt down by an unfortunate Fire; and upon that occaſion I ſaw more Silver Plate carried out of it than ſix great Mules could carry.

If the King's Palace were finiſh'd, 'twould be one of the nobleſt Edifices in *Europe;* but the compleating of it would coſt at leaſt two Millions of Crowns. Strangers lodge for the moſt part in the Houſes that Front the *Taio*. I know ſeveral *French* Merchants, ſome Popiſh and ſome Proteſtants, who are very conſiderable Traders in this Country. The Popiſh *French* Merchants are protected by *France*, and the Proteſtants take Shelter under the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*. Here we [196] reckon almoſt Fifty *Engliſh* Families, and as many *Dutch*, beſides ſome other Forreigners, who do all of 'em get Eſtates in a very little time, by the great vent of the Commodities of the Country. The *Engliſh Baetas*, or the *Colcheſter* light Stuffs ſell admirably well in this Place; and there's great Profit got upon the *French* Linnen, the *Tours* and *Lions* Silk Stuffs,

French Ribbands, Lace and Iron Ware; which are ballanc'd by Sugar, Tobacco, Indigo, Cacao Nuts, *&c.*

The *Alfandigua* or Duty of Sugar and Tobacco is one of the beſt Branches of the Royal Revenue, as well as that on Silk, Linnen and Woollen Cloath, which the Merchants are oblig'd to get Stamp'd upon the payment of a certain Duty proportionable to the value and quality of the Effects. Your dry'd Cod pays almoſt Thirty *per Cent* Cuſtom; ſo that there's ſcarce any thing got by Importing of them, unleſs it be when the firſt Ships come in from *Newfoundland.* Tobacco, whether in Snuſh or in Rolls, is ſold by Retail at the ſame price as in *France;* for Snuſh is worth two Crowns a Pound, and the other Tobacco is ſold for about Fifty Pence. 'Tis eaſie to evade the Cuſtoms, if one has a right underſtanding with the Guards, who are a parcel of Knaves that the ſound of a Piſtole will make as flexible as you can wiſh. No Portmanteau or Cloakbag can be carried into the City without being ſearch'd by theſe doughty Gentlemen. Galloons, Fringes, Brocado's, and Gold or Silver Ribbands are Confiscated as Contreband Goods; for no Perſon, of what Station ſoever, is allow'd to have Silver or Gold Thread either in his Cloaths or the Furniture of his Houſe.

All Books, in what Language ſoever, are immediately laid before the Inquiſition, and burnt [197] if they do not pleaſe the Inquiſitors. This Tribunal, of which a *French* Phyſician gives us a Pathetick Deſcription, from the ſad experiences of the Evils he underwent at *Goa;* this Tribunal, I ſay, which

belches out more Fire and Flames than *Mount Gibel*, is ſo hot upon the Point that if this Letter came before 'em, both it and the Author would be in equal danger of being burn'd; and 'tis upon this Conſideration that I take care to hold my Peace, eſpecially ſince the very Grandees of the Kingdom are affraid to ſpeak of this Sanctified Office. Some Days ago I had an Interview with a ſenſible wiſe *Portugeſe*, who after informing me of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the People of *Angola* and *Braſil*, where he had liv'd ſeveral Years, took pleaſure to hear me recount the Faſhions and Humours of the Savages of *Canada;* but when I came to the broiling of the Priſoners of War that fall into the Hands of the *Iroqueſe*, he cry'd out with a furious Accent, That the *Iroqueſe* of *Portugal* were yet more cruel than thoſe of *America*, in burning without Mercy their Relations and Friends, whereas the latter inflicted that Puniſhment only upon the cruel Enemies of their Nation.

In former Times the *Portugueſe* had ſuch a Veneration for the Monks, that they ſcrupl'd to enter into their Wives Chambers, at a time when the good Fathers were exhorting them to ſomething elſe than Repentance; but now a days they are not allow'd ſo much Liberty: And indeed I muſt own, that the greateſt part of 'em live ſuch lewd and irregular Lives, that their extravagant Debauches have ſhock'd me a hundred times. They have Indulgences from the Pope's Nuncio to follow all manner of Libertiniſm; for that Papal Miniſter, whoſe Power is unlimited as to Eccleſiaſticks, gives 'em leave, [198] nothwithſtanding the Remonſtrances of their Superiors, to wear a Hat in the City, (*i.e.* to go about without

a Companion) to lie out of the Convent, and even to take a Country Journey now and then. Perhaps they would be wiſer, and their number would be ſmaller, if they were not oblig'd (as well as the Nuns) to make their Vows at 14 Years of Age.

Moſt of the *Portugueſe* Coaches are Chariots Imported from *France*. None but the King and Ambaſſadors are drawn by ſix Horſes or Mules within the City Walls; out of the City, indeed, your Perſons of Quality may have a hundred if they will; but within the Walls they dare not have more than four. The Ladies and the old Gentlemen are carried in Sedans or Chairs, ſo that Chariots are only made uſe of by the younger Noblemen; none are allow'd to make uſe of Coaches and Sedans but the Nobility, Envoys, Reſidents, Conſuls, and Eccleſiaſticks; ſo that the richeſt Citizens and Merchants muſt content themſelves with a ſort of Calaſh with two Wheels, drawn by one Horſe, and driven by themſelves. The Mules that carry the Litters or Sedans are larger, finer and not ſo broad Cheſted as thoſe of *Auvergne*. A Brace of 'em, generally ſpeaking, is worth Eight hundred Crowns; nay ſome of 'em will fetch Twelve hundred, eſpecially if they come from the Country of the famous *Don Quixot*, which lies at a great diſtance from *Lisbon*. The Coach Mules come from *Eſtremadura*, and are worth about a hundred Piſtoles a Pair. The Saddle and Carriage Mules, and the *Spaniſh* Horſes, are *Cent per Cent* dearer than in *Caſtile*. When 'tis fair Weather the young Sparks ride up and down the City on Horſe-back, on purpoſe to ſhew themſelves to the Ladies,

who like Birds in a Cage [199] have no other Privilege than that of viewing through the * Chinks of Jealouſie the Creatures whoſe Company they wiſh for in their Priſons. The Monks who are provided for by Indowments make no Viſits on Foot, for their Convent keeps a certain number of Saddle Mules, which they make uſe of by turns: And 'tis wonderful Comical to ſee the good Fathers patrol and wheel about the Streets with great long crown'd Hats like Sugar-loafs, and Spectacles that cover three fourths of their Face.

* *Windows with Grates, the Intervals of which are no larger than one's little Finger.*

Tho' *Lisbon* is a very large City, and a place of great Trade, yet there's but two good *French* Inns or Ordinaries in the whole Town, where one may eat tolerably well for five and thirty *Sous* a Meal. Queſtionleſs the number of good Ordinaries would be enlarg'd in courſe, if the *Portugueſe* took pleaſure in Eating and Drinking; for then they would not contemn thoſe who are ſollicitous to find out good Cheer. They are not contented with diſdaining the Trade of an Innkeeper; but the very name of a Publick Houſe is ſo odious to them, that they ſcorn to viſit any Gentleman that Lodges in thoſe charming Quarters. For this reaſon, Sir, you would do well to adviſe any Friend of yours, that has the Curioſity to Travel into *Portugal*, and means to make any ſtay in this Town, to go into a Penſion at ſome *French* Merchants Houſe. One may feed very well in this Town, only 'tis ſomewhat dear. The *Alemteio* Poultry, the St. *Ubal* Hares and Partridges, and the *Algarva* Butchers Meat eat admirably well. The *Lamego*

Bacon and Hams are nicer Food than thoſe of *Mayence* and *Bayonne;* and yet that ſort of Meat ſits ſo uneaſie upon the Stomach of a *Portugueſe*, that, [200] if 'twere not for the Conſumption in the Monks and Inquiſitors Houſe, there would ſcarce be any Hogs in all *Portugal.* The *Portugueſe* Wines are ſtrong and have a good Body, eſpecially the Red Wines which run very near to a Black Colour. The *Aleguete* and *Barra a Barra* Wines are the fineſt and thoſe of the thineſt Body.

The King never taſts Wine, and the Perſons of Quality drink of it but very ſeldom, no more than the Women. To fathom the reaſon of this Abſtinence we muſt conſider that *Venus* has ſuch an Intereſt in *Portugal*, that the Face of her Charms hath always kept *Bacchus* from any Footing in this Country. Here that Goddeſs cauſes ſo much Idolatry, that ſhe ſeems to diſpute with the true God for a right to the Worſhip and Adoration of the *Portugueſe*, and that in the moſt Sacred Places; for the Churches and Proceſſions make the common *Randezvous* where the Amorous Aſſignments are made. 'Tis there that the * *Bandarro's*, the Ladies of Pleaſure and the Women of Intrigue, take their Poſts; for they never fail to aſſiſt at the Feſtivals that are Celebrated at leaſt three or four times a Week, ſometimes in one Church and ſometimes in another. The ſwaggering Adventurers have a wonderful Talent of diſcovering their Amorous Deſires with one glance of the Eye to the Ladies who return 'em an Anſwer by the ſame Signal; and this they call *Correſponding.* This done, they have nothing to

* *A ſort of Braggadocio Bully's, of* Don Quixot's *Temper, who have no other Employment than that of hunting after Adventures.*

do but to find out their Houſes, by following 'em Foot for Foot from the Church Door to their reſpective Apartments. The concluſion of the Intrigue lies in marching ſtraight on to the corner of the Street without looking about [201] for fear the Husband or Rivals ſhould ſmell a Rat. At the end of the Street they have ſo much occaſion for a large ſtock of Patience that they muſt ſtand there two or three hours till a Servant Maid comes, whom they muſt follow till ſhe finds a handſome opportunity of delivering her †*Recado* ſafely. The Adventurers muſt truſt theſe goodly Confidents, and ſometimes run the riſque of their Lives upon their Word and Directions; for they are as cunning as they are true to their Miſtreſſes, from whom they receive Preſents as well as from the Suitors, and ſometimes from the Husbands.

† i. e. *A Meſſage or a watch Word in order to an Interview.*

In former times the *Portugueſe* Women cover'd their Faces with their ‖ *Manto's*, and expos'd nothing to view but one Eye, as the *Spaniſh* Women do to this Day; but as ſoon as they perceiv'd that the Sea Towns were repleniſh'd with as fair Children as any are in *France* or *England*, the poor *Manto's* were diſcarded, and forbid to approach the Face of a Lady. The *Portugueſe* have ſuch an Antipathy and Horror for *Acteon's* Arms, that they had rather cut their own Fingers than take Tobacco out of an Horn-Box; tho' after all the Horn Commodity begins to take here, notwithſtanding the repeated Diſcouragements of Poyſon and the Sword. Almoſt every Month brings us freſh

‖ *Veils of Taffitas which cover'd both the Face and the Body, and at the ſame time cloak'd their Intrigues.*

Inſtances of ſome Tragical Adventure of that Nature, eſpecially when the *Angola* or *Braſil* Fleets are juſt come in; for the greateſt part of the Seamen that go upon theſe Voyages are ſo unfortunate, that when they return home they find their Wives lock'd up in [202] Monaſteries inſtead of their own Houſes. The reaſon of their voluntary Confinement is this; that they chooſe thus to expiate and atone for the Sins they committed in their Husbands abſence, rather than be ſtabb'd at their return. Upon this ſcore we ought not to Cenſure thoſe who repreſented the Ocean with a Bull's Horns, for in good earneſt almoſt all that expoſe themſelves to the brunts of the Sea make much ſuch another Figure. In fine, Gallantry in the way of Amours is too tickliſh a Trade in this Place, for it runs a Man in danger of his Life. Here we find plenty of Whores, whoſe Company ought by all means to be avoided; for beſides the danger of ruining one's Health, a Man runs the riſque of being knock'd on the Head if he frequents their Company. The handſomeſt Whores are commonly *Amezada'd* or hir'd by the Month by ſome *kind Keepers*, that have a watchful Eye over 'em; but notwithſtanding all the Keepers Precaution, they enjoy the Diverſion of ſome wiſe Companions at the expence of ſuch Fools. The Fools I now ſpeak of lye under an indiſpenſible Neceſſity of keeping up and feeding with Preſents the pretended Love and Fidelity of the ſaid *Lais's*, the Enjoyment of whom is unconceivably Chargeable. The Nuns receive frequent Viſits from their *Devoto's*, who have a warmer Paſſion for them than for the Women of this World, as it appears from the Jealouſies,

Quarrels, and a Thouſand other Diſorders that ariſe among the Rivals upon the ſcore of Intrigue. Formerly the Parlours of the Monaſteries were guarded only with a ſingle Grate, but ſince my Lord *Grafton* and ſome of the Captains of his Squadron had the Curioſity to touch the Hands, *&c.* of the Nuns of *Odiveta;* the King ordered all the Convents in the Kingdom to [203] have double Grates upon their Parlours. At the ſame time he almoſt ſtiffled the Pretention of the *Devoto's*, by prohibiting any one to approach to a Convent without a lawful Occaſion, tho' to frame an occaſion is eaſie to one that has the folly to be in Love with theſe poor Girls.

The *Portugueſe* are a People of a quick Apprehenſion; they think freely, and their Expreſſions come up to the juſtneſs of their Thoughts: They have able Phyſicians and learned Caſuiſts among 'em. The Celebrated *Camoens* was without diſpute one of the moſt Illuſtrious Citizens of *Parnaſſus.* The teeming variety of his excellent Thoughts, his choice of Words, and the politeneſs and eaſie freedom of his Stile, charm'd all who were ſufficiently acquainted with the *Portugueſe* Language.[1] 'Tis true he had the Misfortune of being rally'd upon by *Moreri*, and by ſome *Spaniſh* Authors; who, when they could not avoid owning, that 'tis impoſſible to ſurpaſs the Genius of this unfortunate Poet, blacken'd his Character with the imputation of Infidelity and Profanity. A *Catalan* Monk falls foul upon a hundred Places of his

[1] Lahontan here shows his familiarity with Portuguese literature, and its greatest poet, Luiz de Camoëns, who died in 1579. His genius went largely unrecognized during his lifetime, and, as our author indicates, he was subjected to petty persecutions. — Ed.

Laziadas Endechas Eſtrivillas, &c. and brands him for an Impious Rattle-brain'd Fellow. To quote two Places that he Cenſures; the firſt is the Cadence of a Sonnet entituled *Soneto Nuo Impreſſo;* where after ſome Reflections the Poet ſays, *Mais O Melhor de tudo e crer en Chriſto;* i. e. *After all, the ſureſt way is to believe in Chriſt.* The Second is the Concluſion of a *Gloza*, viz. *Si Deus ſe Buſca no Mundo neſſes ollos ſe achara.* That is to ſay, in ſpeaking to a Lady, *If we look for God in this World we'll find him in your Eyes.*

The *Portugueſe* Pulpit-men cry up their Saints almoſt above God himſelf; and to exaggerate their Sufferings lodge 'em in Stables rather than [204] in Paradiſe. They conclude their Sermons with ſuch Pathetick Cries and Exclamations, that the Women ſigh and cry as if they were in deſpair. In this Country the Title of a Heretick is accounted highly infamous; and indeed it bears a very odious Signification. The Prieſts and Friars hate *Calvin* for Curtailing the buſineſs of Confeſſion, as much as the Nuns eſteem *Luther* for his Monaſtical Marriage. In the City they make Proceſſions from one end of the Town to the other, every *Friday* in *Lent.* I have ſeen above a hundred diſcipline themſelves in the Streets, in an odd manner. They were clad in White, with their Face cover'd and their Back naked; which they laſh ſo handſomely, that the Blood ſpurts in the Face of the Women who are ſet upon the ſides of the Streets, on purpoſe to ridicule and vilify the leaſt Bloody. Theſe were follow'd by others in Masks, who carried Croſſes, Chains, and bundles of Swords of an incredible weight.

The Foreigners of this place are almoſt as Jealous as the *Portugueſe;* inſomuch that their Wives are afraid to ſhew themſelves to their Husband's beſt Friends. They affect the *Portugueſe* Severity with ſo much exactneſs, that theſe poor Captives dare not lift up their Eyes in the Preſence of a Man. But notwithſtanding all their precaution, they ſometimes meet with the Miſchief that they take ſuch care to avoid. The City is Peopled with perſons of all Colours, ſome Black, ſome Mulatto's, ſome Swarthy, and ſome of an Olive Complexion: But the Greateſt part are *Trigenho's*, i. e. of the Colour of Corn. The medley of ſo many different hues, do's ſo mingle the Blood of the Nation, that the true Whites make but a very ſcanty number; and 'tis for this reaſon, that if one were to ſay in *Portugueſe*, *I am a Man* (*or* [205] *a Woman*) *of Honour;* the nobleſt expreſſion he can find, is, *Eu ſou Branco*, or *Branca*, i. e. *I am a White.*

You may walk up and down *Lisbon* night and day without fearing Pickpockets. Till three or four a Clock in the Morning, you have Muſicians that play in the Streets on *Guitars*, and joyn to the Sweetneſs of that Inſtrument, the moſt moanful Songs that can be imagin'd. The way of Dancing among the ordinary ſort of People is very indecent, by reaſon of the impertinent Motions of their Head and Belly. The Inſtrumental Muſick of the *Portugueſe* is diſagreeable at firſt to the Ears of a Foreigner; but at the bottom it has ſomewhat in it that's ſweet, and pleaſes, when one is accuſtom'd to it. Their Vocal Muſick is ſo coarſe, and its diſcordant Notes are ſo unhappily link'd together; that the chattering of a Crow is

more Melodious. Their Church Muſical Compoſures are all in the *Caſtilian* Language, as well as their Paſtorals and moſt of their Songs. They endeavour to imitate the *Spaniſh* Cuſtoms as much as poſſible; nay, they are ſo nice in obſerving the Ceremonies of the *Spaniſh* Court, that the *Portugueſe* Miniſters would be very much diſoblig'd if the leaſt Formality were lop'd off. The King and the Grandees wear much ſuch another Habit as our Financiers or Receivers of the Royal Revenue. They have a cloſe Coat with a Cloak of the ſame colour; a great Band of *Venice* Point, with a long Perriwig, a Sword, and a Dagger. They give the Title of *Excellentia* to Ambaſſadours, and that of *Senhoria* to Envoys and Reſidents.

The Port of *Lisbon* is large, ſafe and convenient; tho' the Entry is very difficult. The Ships Ride at Anchor between the City and the Caſtle of *Almada*, at eighteen Fathom Water on a good [206] ſtrong Ground. The *Lisbon* River is call'd by the *Portugueſe*, *O Rey dos Rios*, i. e. *The King of Rivers.* 'Tis almoſt a League broad where the Ships Ride; at which place the Tide riſes twelve foot perpendicular, and runs above ten Leagues farther up towards its ſource. All Captains of Ships, whether Men of War or Merchant Men, Foreigners or Natives, are expreſsly prohibited to Salute the City with a Diſcharge of Cannon, or fire a Ship Gun before it, upon any pretence whatſoever. The Conſuls of *France*, *England* and *Holland*, have five or ſix thouſand Livres a piece allow'd 'em yearly; beſides which, they make a ſhift to get as much more by Trading.

This, Sir, is all the account I can give you at preſent of this charming Country; which to my mind would be a Paradiſe upon Earth, if 'twere Inhabited by Peaſants that had leſs of the Gentleman in their Conduct. The Climate is admirably ſweet and agreeable; the Air is clear and ſerene, the Water of the Country is wonderful good, and the Winter is ſo mild that I have felt no cold as yet. In this Country, the People may live for an Age without any inconveniency from advancing Years. The old Perſons are not loaded with the Infirmities that plague thoſe of other Countries; their Appetite do's not fail 'em, and their Blood is not ſo diſpirited, but that their Wives can vouch for their perfect health. Ardent Fevers make a terrible Havock in *Portugal*, and the Venereal Diſorders are ſo civil, that no body troubles his head for a cure. The *Pox*, which is very frequent in the Country, gives ſo little uneaſyneſs, that the very Phyſicians who have it, are loth to carry it off, for fear of going to the charge of repeated Cures. The Juſtices and Peace-Officers are ſawcy and unſufferably [207] arrogant, as being authoris'd by a King that obſerves the Laws with the utmoſt Severity; for this incourages 'em to pick quarrels with the People, from whom they frequently receive very cruel Reprimands. Some time ago, the *Count de Prado* Son in Law to the Marſhal *de Villeroy*, took the pains to ſend into the other World an inſolent * *Corrigidor*, that would willingly have diſpenſed with the Voyage. While that Gentleman was Riding in Coach with his Couſin, at the corner of a Street he met the *Corrigidor*, who was

* i. e. *An Intendant and Civil Judge.*

Mounted like a St. *George*, and to his Misfortune ſo proud of his Office, that he did not daign to give the two Gentlemen a Salute. I've acquainted you already that the *Portugueſe* Gentlemen are the vaineſt Men in the World; and upon that ſcore, you will not think it ſtrange that theſe two Gentlemen alighted from the Coach, and made the *Corrigidor* ſpring from his Horſe and Jump into the other World. A *French Man* will be ready to ſay that the Intendant's Indiſcretion did not deſerve ſuch rude uſage; but the *Portugueſe* Perſons of Quality that cover their Heads in the preſence of their King, will be of another mind. However, the two Chavalier's took Shelter in the Houſe of the Abbot *d'Eſtrees*, who ſent 'em to *France* in a *Breſt* Frigot.

It now remains to give you a Liſt of the King of *Portugal*'s Standing Forces. He has eighteen thouſand Foot, eight thouſand Horſe, and twenty two Men of War; namely,

4 Ships from 60 to 70 Guns.
6 Ships from 50 to 60 Guns.
6 Ships from 40 to 50 Guns.
6 Frigats from 30 to 40 Guns.

[208] You muſt know that the King's Ships are light Timber'd, well Built and handſomely Model'd; their Caulking, Iron Work and Roundings is all very neat. Their Arſenals and Naval Stores are in great diſorder, and good Sailors are as ſcarce in *Portugal* as good Sea Officers, for the Government has neglected the Forming of Marine Nurſeries and Navigation Schools, and a thouſand other neceſſary things; the diſcuſſion of which would lead me too far out of

my way. The *Portugueſe* are charg'd with being ſomewhat dull and ſlow in Working their Ships, and leſs brave by Sea than by Land.

The Captains of the King's Ships have commonly twenty two *Patacas* a Month; and a free Table while they are at Sea; beſides ſome Perqueſites.

A Lieutenant's Pay is ſixteen *Patacas* a Month.

An Enſign of Marines has ten *Patacas* a Month.

An Able Sailor has four *Patacas* a Month.

A Captain of a Company of Foot has about five and twenty *Patacas* a Month, in Pay and Perquiſites both in Peace and War.

The *Aluſieres*, who are a ſort of Lieutenants, have eight *Patacas*.

A Common Soldier's Pay is about two pence half-penny a day of our Mony.

A Captain of Horſe has in Pay and Perquiſites, in time of Peace, about a hundred *Pataca's* a Month.

A Lieutenant of Horſe has near thirty *Pataca's* a Month.

A Quartermaſter fifteen *Pataca's* a Month.

A Trooper four *Sous* a day, and his Forrage.

As for the General Land and Sea Officers, 'tis hard to tell exactly what their Incomes amount to: For the King grants Penſions to ſome, and Commandries to others, as he ſees occaſion. The [209] Collonels, Lieutenant-Collonels and Majors of Foot, as well as the Maîtres de Camp and the Commiſſarys, have no fix'd Allowance: For ſome have more and ſome

leſs, in proportion to the advantage of the Place where their Troops are Quarter'd, and the number of their Men.

The *Portugueſe* Troops are ill Diſciplin'd. Neither Horſe nor Foot are Cloath'd after the ſame manner; for ſome have a Brown Livery, ſome Red, ſome Black, ſome Blew, ſome Green, *&c.* Their Arms are very good; and the Officers do not mind their brightneſs, provided they are in a good Condition. One would ſcarce believe that theſe are the Troops that did ſuch mighty Feats againſt the *Spaniards* in the laſt Wars. In all appearance they were better Diſciplin'd in thoſe days than they are now, and were not ſo much taken up with their *Guitars.*

To ſhew you the Species and Value of the Mony that's Current in this Country:

A *Spaniſh Piaſtre* or piece of Eight, which the *Portugueſe* call a *Pataca*, is worth a *French* Crown; and contains 750 *Reys.*

The half pieces and quarter pieces are of a proportionable Value.

A *Rey* is a *Denier*, as I intimated above.

The loweſt Silver Coin they have is a *Vintaine* or twenty penny piece, being 20 *Reys.*

A *Teſtoon* is worth 5 *Vintaines.*

A *Demi-Teſtoon* goes in a half proportion.

An old *Cruzada* is near 4 *Teſtoons.*

The *Mæda d' ouro*, a Gold Coin, is worth 6 *Pataca*'s and 3 *Teſtoons.*

The half and quarter *Mæda's* have a proportionable Value.

A *Lowis d'or*, whether Old or New, goes for four *Piaſtres* wanting two *Teſtoons*.

[210] The half and quarter *Piſtoles* go upon the ſame proportion.

A *Spaniſh Piſtole*, full Weight, goes at the ſame rate for 4 *Piaſtres*, wanting two *Teſtoons;* ſo that there's Mony got by ſending 'em to *Spain*, where they're worth 4 *Piaſtres* neat.

No Species of Mony bears the King of *Portugal*'s Effigies; and there's no diſtinction made in *Portugal*, between the *Seville Piaſtres* and thoſe of *Mexico*, or of *Peru*, as they do elſewhere.

No *French* Coin paſſes in this Country, excepting Crowns, half Crowns and quarter Crowns.

The *Portugueſe* 128 *pound* is equal to the *Paris* 100 Weight. Their *Calido* is a Meaſure that exceeds the *Paris* half Ell by three inches and a line; ſo that its juſt extent is two *French* foot, one inch and one line. Their *Bara* is another Meaſure, ſix of which makes ten *Calido's*. The *Portugueſe* League is 4200 Geometrical Paces, allowing five Foot to every Pace.

As for the Intereſt of the *Portugueſe* Court, I wave it on purpoſe becauſe I have no mind to enter into Politicks. Beſides, I have already acquainted you that I pretend to Write nothing elſe but ſuch trifles as have not been yet took notice of in Print. If it were not that I had laid my ſelf under that Reſtriction, I could ſend you a circumſtantial account of their different Tribunals or Courts of Juſtice, and ſome Scraps of their Laws: I could give you to underſtand that the Parliament and Arch-Biſhoprick of *Lisbon*, make one of the greateſt Ornaments of this *Metropolis;* that the Eccleſiaſtical Benefices

are extream large; that there are no Commendatory Abbeys in the Country, that the Friars are neither ſo well indow'd nor ſo well entertain'd as one might expect. I could inform you that the King's Royal Order is call'd *L'habito de Criſto*, If [211] Madam *d' Aunoy* had not taught you ſo much in Deſcribing the admirable Inſtitution of that Order; and therefore ſhall content my ſelf in adding that the number of the Knights Companions of this Order runs far beyond that of its Commandries, which are worth very little. Here I muſt make a halt and take leave of this Royal City, which 'tis poſſible I may ſee once more hereafter. I ſet out immediately for the Northern Kingdoms of *Europe;* waiting patiently till it pleaſes God that Monſieur *Ponchartrain* ſhould either remove to Paradiſe, or do Juſtice to him who ſhall always be yours more than his own.

Your Humble, &c.

LETTER II.

Dated at *Travemunde*, 1694.

Containing an Account of the Author's Voyage from *Lisbon* to *Garnſey;* his Adventure with an *Engliſh* Man of War and a Privateer: A Deſcription of *Rotterdam* and *Amſterdam;* the Author's Voyage to *Hamburg;* the Dimenſions of a *Flemiſh* Sloop; a Deſcription of the City of *Hamburg;* the Author's Journy from thence to *Lubeck;* and a Deſcription of that City.

I SET out from *Lisbon* on the 4*th* of *April*, having bargain'd with a Maſter of a Ship to Land me at *Amſterdam* for thirty *Piaſtres*. At the [212] ſame time, I had the precaution of taking a Paſs from the *Dutch* Reſident, for fear of being ſtop'd in that Country. I went in a Boat to a place call'd *Belin*, which lies about two Leagues below *Lisbon*. At this little Town all the Merchant Ships that go and come, are oblig'd to ſhew their Cockets, *Invoice*, and Bills of Lading, and to pay the Duty for their Cargo. The 6*th* we got out of the *Taio*, and follow'd the Rake of a Fleet Bound for the *Baltick* Sea, and Convoy'd by a *Swediſh* Man of War of 60 Guns, Commanded by a *Lubecker* whoſe Name was *Crenger;* and whom the King of *Sweden* had prefer'd to a Noble Dignity, notwithſtanding that Originally he had been a Common

Sailor. We croſs'd the *Barr* by the way of the Great Channel or Paſs, between Fort *Bougio*, and the *Cachopas;* the laſt being a great Bank of Sand and Rocks, extending to three quarters of a League in length, and half a League in breadth, which Ships are apt to fall foul of in a Calm, by reaſon of the Tides that bear that way. You muſt know that if we had had Pilots that knew the Coaſt, we would have paſs'd between that Bank and the Fort of St. *Julian*, which lies to the North or the *Lisbon* ſide, oppoſite to *Bougio;* but we had no occaſion to employ 'em, ſince our *Portugueſe* Captain took the opportunity of following the run of the *Baltick* Fleet. As ſoon as we came into the Main, and fell into the middle of that North Country Fleet, the Brutiſh *Commodore* made down upon us with all Sails aloft, and fir'd a Cannon with Ball in Head of our Ship; after which he ſent out his Lieutenant to acquaint our poor Maſter, that it behov'd him to pay two *Piſtoles* immediately for the Shot, and to Sheer off from his Fleet, unleſs he had a mind to pay a hundred *Piaſtres* for his Convoy, which the Maſter of our Veſſel refus'd very Gracefully.

[213] But to drop this Subject; I muſt acquaint you that the *Barr* of *Lisbon* is inacceſſible while the Wind blows hard from the Weſt and South-Weſt; which commonly happens in Winter. Add to this, that for eight Months of the Year the North and North-Eaſt Winds prevail, and that moderately: By which means it came about, that our Paſſage from the Mouth of the *Tajo* to Cape *Finiſterre* was longer than an ordinary Voyage from the Iſle of *Newfound-Land* to *France*. I never ſaw ſuch conſtant Winds as theſe; however we got

clear of 'em, by Traverſing and Sweeping along the Coaſt, which our *Portugueſe* Captain durſt not leave for fear of the Sally-Rovers, whom they dread more than Hell it ſelf. At laſt, after 18 or 20 days Sailing, we Weather'd Cape *Finiſterre;* and then the Wind Veering to the South-Weſt, we made ſuch way that in ten or twelve days we came in ſight of the Iſle of *Guernſey.* I muſt ſay, that if it had not been for a *French* Pilot that conn'd the Ship, we had frequently fallen Foul on the Coaſt of the *Britiſh* Channel: For you muſt know, the *Portugueſe* have but little acquaintance with the Northern Seas, and the Lands that jut out into 'em; and for that reaſon are oblig'd to make uſe of Foreign Pilots when they are Bound for *England* or *Holland.* The ſame day that we deſcry'd *Guernſey*, two great *Engliſh* Ships gave us Chaſe with full Sail, and in three or four hours came up with us: One of 'em was a King's Ship of ſixty Guns; and the other was a Privateer of fourty Guns, Commanded by one *Cowper*, who was naturally very well calculated for a Pickpocket, as you'll ſee in the Sequel. As ſoon as they came up with us, we were forc'd to Strike and put out our Long Boat, into which I went in order to ſhew the Captain, whoſe name was *Townſend*, the Paſs I had receiv'd from the [214] *Dutch* Reſident at *Lisbon.* This Captain treated me with all poſſible Civility, in ſo much that he aſſur'd me all my Baggage ſhould be ſecur'd from the Rapine of Captain *Cowper*, who purſuant to the Principles of his profeſſion, pretended to Pillage me with as little Scruple as Mercy. However, our Ship could not be Search'd till we got into *Guernſey* Road, and for that reaſon we were carry'd

thither the ſame day; and after dropping Anchor the two *Engliſh* Captains went a Shoar, and ſent two Searchers on Board of us, to try if they could prove that the Wine and Brandy with which our Ship was Fraughted, was of the growth of *France* or Exported by Commiſſion from *French* Merchants; which they could not poſſibly make out, notwithſtanding that they ſpent fifteen days in ſearching and rummaging, as I heard afterwards at *Lubec.* This troubleſome Accident oblig'd me in five or ſix days after, to Imbarque in a *Dutch* Frigat of * *Circzee;* having firſt preſented Captain *Townſend* with ſome Casks of *Allegrete* Wine, a Cheſt of Oranges, and ſome Diſhes Carv'd at † *Eſtremos;* and that in acknowledgment of the kind Uſage and good Entertainment that he gave me both a Shoar, and on Board of his Ship.

* *A Place in* Holland.

† *A* Portugueſe City *that ſtands almoſt on the Frontiers towards* Extremadura.

My Second Voyage prov'd more favourable than the former; for in three days Sailing I arriv'd at *Circzee;* at which place I went on Board of a Paſſage Smack, which ſteer'd between the Iſlands, and by vertue of the Winds and Tydes wafted me to *Rotterdam.*

Rotterdam is a very large fine City, and a place of very great Trade. Here I had the Pleaſure of viewing in two days time, the *Maes* College, the [215] Arſenal for Naval Stores, and the great Tower, which by the induſtry of a Carpenter was Reinſtated in its perpendicular Poſture, at a time when it bended and ſhelv'd in ſuch a monſtrous manner, as to threaten the City with the Load of its Ruines. I had likewiſe the Satis-

faction of ſeeing the Houſe of the Famous *Eraſmus*, as well as the Beauty of the Port or the *Maes*, the Mouth of which is very dangerous, by reaſon of ſome Shelves and Banks of Sand that ſhoot out a pretty way into the Sea. The Trade of *Rotterdam* is very conſiderable, and the Merchants of that place enjoy the conveniency of bringing their Ships up to the Doors of their Ware-Houſes, by the help of the Canals or Ditches, that interſect this great City. Two days after my Arrival, I Imbarqu'd at five a Clock in the Morning in a Travelling Boat or *Tract Scuyt* for *Amſterdam*. This ſort of Boats is cover'd with Ribs, being flat, long and broad; and has a Bench or Form on each ſide, that reaches from the Prow to the Poop. In this Conveniency, which one Horſe will draw, we travel a League an hour, for three *Sous* and a half *per* League. In all the Principal Cities of *Holland* the *Scuyts* ſet out every hour, whether full or empty: But you muſt know that you frequently ſhift Boats, and for that end muſt walk on foot thro' ſeveral Cities. In this ſmall Voyage I walk'd thro' *Delft*, *Leyden* and *Harlem*, which appear'd to be large, neat and fine Cities. After I had Travel'd in theſe Boats twelve Leagues upon Ditches lin'd with Trees, Meads, Gardens, and moſt pleaſant Houſes, I arriv'd at *Amſterdam* in the Evening.

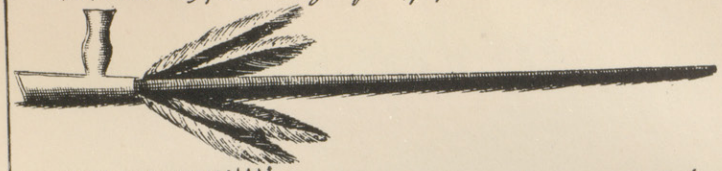
When I came to my Inn, my Landlord order'd me a Guide, who in ſeven or eight days time ſhew'd me all the Curioſities of this Flouriſhing City; but I could have done it in three [216] or four days, if the City had afforded the Conveniency of Hackney-Coaches, ſuch as they have at *Paris* and

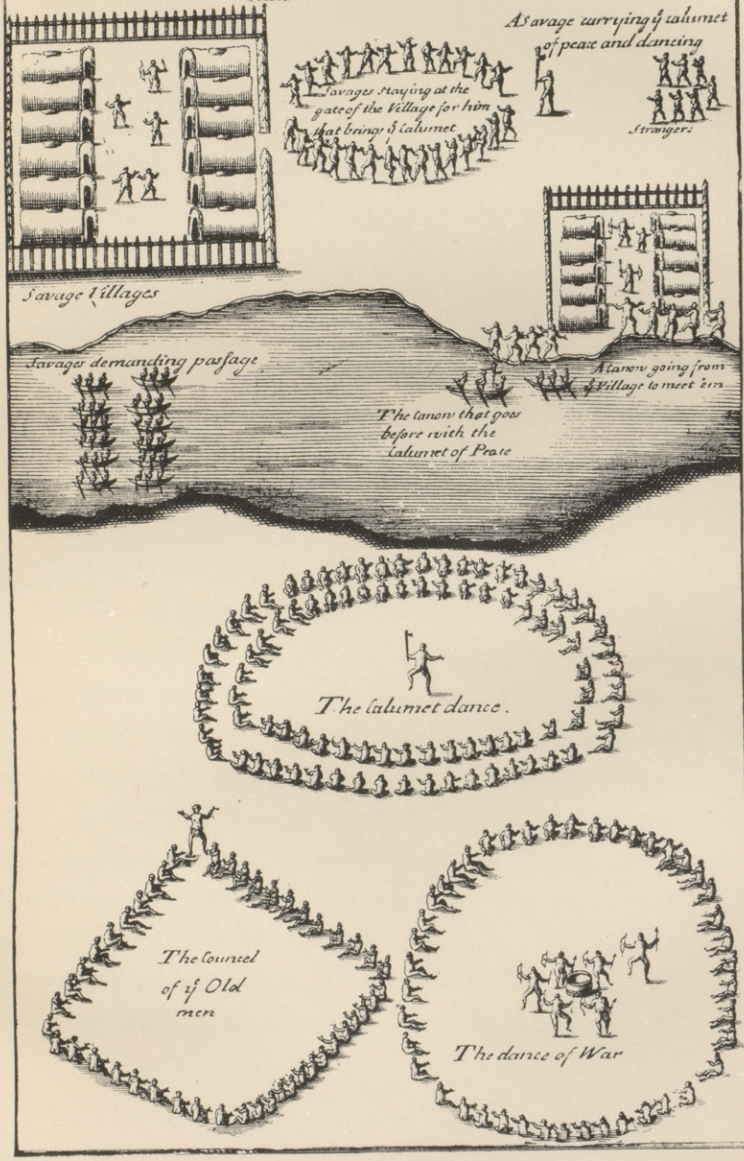
other Places. The City is large, neat and fine; moſt of its Canals or *Graafs* are deck'd with very pretty Houſes: But the Water Stagnating in theſe large Ciſterns ſmells very ſtrong in Hot Weather. The Edifices are for the moſt part Uniform, and the Streets are drawn as if 'twere by a Line. The *Guild-Hall* or *Stadt-Houſe* ſtands upon Wooden Piles or Stakes; tho' that vaſt Maſs of Stone is extream heavy. This Noble Edifice is inrich'd with ſeveral fine Pieces of Sculpture and Painting, and adorn'd with rich Tapeſtry. Here you may ſee the fineſt Marble, Jaſper and Porphyry that can be: But this is nothing in Compariſon with the Mouldy Crowns that are hoarded up under the Vaults of this monſtrous Edifice. The Admiralty-Houſe is likewiſe very fine, as well as the Arſenal. The Port which is little leſs than a large quarter of a League in Front, was covered all over with Ships, in ſo much that one might eaſily Jump from one to another.

In this City I ſaw ſome neat Churches, not to ſpeak of a Synagogue of the true Jews, who out of regard to their Antiquity are allow'd the publick Exerciſe of their Venerable Religion. The *Roman Catholicks*, *Lutherans*, &c. are tolerated to Worſhip God in their way, without laying the Doors of their Meeting-Houſes open, or ringing Bells or Chimes. I was likewiſe entertain'd with a Sight of the Houſes for Widows and Orphans, and their Bridewells whether for the Puniſhment of Rogues, or Female Sinners, who are forc'd to Work very hard to expiate their Peccadillo's. The Exchange is a piece of Architecture, large enough to contain eight thouſand Men: But the Statelieſt thing I ſaw was [217] ten

or twelve *Muſick-Houſes*, ſo call'd from certain Muſical Inſtruments ſorrily Scrap'd upon, by the Sound of which a Gang of naſty Punks inſnare ſuch as have the courage to look upon 'em without Spitting in their Faces. This gracious Tribe aſſembles in the *Seraglio* as ſoon as Night approaches. In ſome of theſe *Muſick-Houſes* you are entertain'd with the Sound of an *Organ;* in others with a *Harpſicord* or ſome other lame Inſtrument. You enter into a large Room where the frightful Veſtal Ladies ſit, rigg'd with all ſorts of Colours and Stuffs, by the kind aſſiſtance of the Jews who let out the Head-Dreſſes and Suits of Cloaths, that have been kept for that uſe, from Father to Son, ever ſince the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem.* In theſe *Seraglio*'s every body's Welcome for the Spending of ten or twelve *Stivers*, which he muſt lay down at his firſt entry, for a Glaſs of Wine that's enough to Poiſon an Elephant. Here you'll ſee a Swinging Raw-Bon'd Sailor pop in with his Pipe in his Jaws, his Hair all glittering with Sweat, and his Tar Breeches Glew'd to his Thighs; in which Pickle he makes SS's till he falls flat at his Miſtriſſes Feet. Next comes a Foot-Man half Muddled, that Sings and Dances, and Swills down Brandy to make himſelf Sober. After him the Stage is Trod by a Soldier that Swaggers and Storms, and makes the whole Palace tremble; or elſe by a Company of Adventurers muffled up in their Cloaks, who come to play the Devil with three or four Rogues, and get themſelves knock'd on the Head by fifty that out-do Aſſes in Brutiſhneſs. In fine, Sir, the whole *Chorus* is a Collection of naſty Miſcreants, who in ſpite of the unſufferable Funk of

The Calumet of peace being a great pipe &c:





Tobacco and Smell of nafty Feet, continue in that Common Shore of Ordure and Nufance till two a Clock in the Morning, without ever difobliging their Stomachs. [218] This Sir, is the whole of what I know in the matter.

As I pafs'd thro' this famous City, I met with fome *French* Merchants of the *Catholick Religion*, the moft confiderable of which are the Sieurs *d' Moracin*, and *d' Arreche;* both *Bayonne* Men, and perfons of Merit and Probity, who have already purchas'd a great Eftate, and a very reputable Character. I was inform'd that there were a great many *French* Refugees in this City, who have fet up Manufactures that inrich'd fome and ruin'd others. This is to me a convincing Proof that the Refugee Trade has been favourable to fome and fatal to others; nay, 'tis really true, that fome Refugees who brought Mony into *Holland* are now in want, and others who had not a Groat in *France*, are become *Crœfus*'s in that Republick.

There's no Country in the World in which good Inns are fo chargeable, as they are in *Holland.* There you muft pay for Bed and Fire, in proportion to your Meals, which coft you half a *Ducatoon*, or two and nine pence a time: So that a Gentleman and his Servant muft lie at the Charge of eight *French Livres* a day, for Supper, Dinner, Bed and Fire.

As for the *Dutch* Mony, the Value of it is as follows.

A *Ducatoon* is worth three *Guelders*, three *Stuivers.*

A *Rix Dollar* paffes for fifty *Stuivers.*

A *Crown* for 40 *Stuivers.*

A *Dollar* for 30 *Stuivers.*

An eight and twenty *Stuck* or Piece, 28 *Stuivers.*

A *Guelder* piece 20 *Stuivers.*

A Stamp'd *Schelling* 6 *Stuivers.*

An Unſtamp'd *Schelling*, 5 *Stuivers* 4 *Doits.*

[219] A *Dubbelkie* 2 *Stuivers.*

A *Stuiver* 8 *Doits;* which makes a *French Sol* and a *Liard;* for five *French Sous* make but four *Dutch Stuivers;* and a *French* Crown of 60 *Sous* value is no more than 48 *Stuivers.*

A Gold *Ducat* is worth 5 *Guelders* 5 *Stuivers.*

A *Lowis D'or* paſſes for 9 *Guelders* 9 *Stuivers.*

As for the Meaſures of *Holland*, I can tell you with reference to ſome, that a League is near 3800 Geometrical Paces.

An Ell is a *French* Foot ten Inches and a Line.

A Pound is equal to our *Paris* Pound.

A Pint holds much the ſame quantity of Liquor with a *Paris* Chopine.

This is all the account I can give you of *Holland.*

When I ſet out from *Amſterdam* to *Hamburg*, I choſe the eaſyeſt and cheapeſt way of Travelling, (I mean by Water.) I had reſolv'd indeed to Travel by Poſt Waggons or Coaches; but that reſolution was preſently drop'd, when I was advis'd that in Travelling by Land, I might run the riſque of being ſtop'd in the Territories of ſome of the *German* Princes, who require Paſſports of all Travellers. This wholeſome Advice ſpar'd both my Corps and my Purſe: For to have gone Poſt, it would have coſt me for my ſelf and my Servant fourty Crowns, whereas it coſt me but five by Water. There goes two *Dutch* Sloops from *Amſterdam* to *Hamburg* every Week, on purpoſe to carry Paſſengers, who may hire little ſeperate

Cabins, ſuch being made in the Ship for the Accommodation of thoſe who have a mind to be private. Theſe Sloops would be admirably well Calculated for Sailing up the South ſide of the River of St. *Laurence*, from its Mouth to *Quebec;* and above all, from *Quebec* to *Monreal.* They are preferable to our Barques for that Service; [220] which I'll make out by five or ſix Reaſons. In the firſt place, they do not draw half ſo much Water as our Barks of the ſame Burden. In the next place, they'll tack to the four Quarters of the Wind; they require leſs Rigging and a ſmaller compliment of Hands than our Barques, and are Work'd with leſs Charge; they'll turn their Head where their Stern was before in the twinkling of an Eye, whereas our Barques can't get about under five or ſix Minutes, and ſometimes will not tack at all; they may rub upon Sand or Gravel without danger, as being Built of half flat Ribs, whereas our Barks being round, would ſplit in pieces upon the leaſt touch. Such, Sir, are the Advantages of theſe *Flemiſh* Veſſels beyond ours; and ſo you may ſafely Write to the *Rochel* Merchants who Trade to *Canada*, that they would find 'em very ſerviceable in that Country: At the ſame time, you may oblige 'em with the following dimenſions of that ſort of Shipping, which I took from the Veſſel I was on Board of, that was one of the leaſt Size. It was fourty two Foot long from the Stern-poſt to the Head; the Hold was about eight Foot broad and about five Foot deep: The Cabin in the Fore-Caſtle was ſix Foot long, and had a Chimney with a Funnel and Vent at the bottom of the Cape-Stane. The Cabin Abaft was of the ſame length, and its Deck was

rais'd three Foot higher than the Fore-Caſtle. The Helm of the frightful Rudder run along the Roof of the laſt Cabin. The Ribs of this little Veſſel, were, in good earneſt, as flat as the Boats in the *Seine*. The Side was about a Foot and a half high; the Maſt was 16 Inches diameter, and 30 Foot high; the Sail reſembled a Rectangle Triangle in its Form. The Veſſel was provided with lee-boards, or a ſort of Wings which the Carpenters [221] know very well how to uſe. In fine, to inform your ſelf more particularly of the matter, you may Write to *Holland* for a Model of that ſort of Shipping in Wood; for a *French* Carpenter will never make any thing of the beſt Verbal Deſcription I can give. The caſe is the ſame as with ſome *Mathematical* Inſtruments, of which the acuteſt men can never form a juſt Idea without ſeeing 'em.

In Sailing from *Amſterdam* to *Hamburg*, we Steer thro' the *Wat*, that is, between the Continent and a ſtring of Iſlands that lye about two or three hours off the *Terra Firma;* and round which the Tide ebbs and flows, as in other places. Between the Continent and theſe Iſlands there are certain Channels, which are deeper than the other places on the right and left, for theſe are dry every Tide. Theſe Channels are eaſily diſtinguiſh'd by the help of ſome Buoys and Maſts Planted upon the Flats. At half Flood you may weigh Anchor and Steer along the Channels, which make ſtrange Windings and Elbows; and if the Wind be contrary, you may eaſily Board along by the help of the Current, till it is low Water, at which time you run a Ground upon the Sand, and are left quite dry. I ſaw above three hundred of theſe

Flemiſh Veſſels during the courſe of this Navigation, which I take to be as ſafe as that of a River, abating for ten Leagues Sailing when we croſs over from the laſt Iſland to the Mouth of the *Elbe*. The Tide riſes three Fathom perpendicular from the Mouth of this River to *Aurenbourg*, which lies ten or twelve Leagues above *Hamburg;* ſo that great Ships and Men of War may eaſily Sail up to *Hamburg*.

The Paſſage from *Amſterdam* to *Hamburg* is commonly accompliſh'd in ſeven or eight days; for in thoſe Seas the Weſterly Winds prevail for [222] three Quarters of the Year. But we were not above ſix days in our Paſſage, notwithſtanding that the Maſter of our Ship was oblig'd to loſe a Tide in producing his Invoys and Bills of Lading at the Town of *Stade*, which lies a League off the *Elbe*, and where all Ships are oblig'd to pay Toll to the King of *Sweden*, excepting the *Danes*, who might have an equal Right to claim ſuch a Toll, if they made uſe of the opportunity of Commanding the Paſſage of this River with the Cannon of *Glucſtat*.

The *Elbe* is a large League over at its Mouth, and at Spring-Tides it has Water enough in the Channel for Ships of fifty or ſixty Guns. The Entry of the River is very difficult and dangerous, by reaſon of an infinity of moving Sands, which render it almoſt inacceſſible in a Fogg, as well as in the Night time; notwithſtanding the precaution of Light Houſes Built pretty far out at Sea.

Hamburg is a large City, Fortified irregularly with Ramparts of Earth. I paſs over in Silence the Democratical Government of this *Hans* Town and its Dependancies, pre-

ſuming you are not ignorant of ſuch things, ſince the *Geographers* have given ample Deſcriptions of 'em: And ſhall content my ſelf with informing you that the Trade of *Hamburg* makes it a conſiderable place; and conſidering the advantage of its Situation, one might readily gueſs ſo much. It ſupplies almoſt all *Germany* with all ſorts of Foreign Commodities, by the conveniency of the *Elbe*, which carries flat bottom'd Veſſels of two hundred Tun above *Dreſden:* And one may juſtly ſay that this City is very Serviceable to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, in regard that theſe Veſſels go up to the *Aſpree*, and ſome other Rivers in his Territories. The *Hamburg* Merchants Trade to all parts of the [223] World, bateing *America*. They ſend but few Ships to the *Eaſt-Indies*, or the upper end of the *Mediterranean;* but they fit out an infinity of Ships for *Africa*, *Muſcovy*, *Spain*, *France*, *Portugal*, *Holland* and *England;* and two Fleets every Year for *Archangel*, where they arrive at the latter end of *June*, and the latter end of *September*.

This little Republick keeps four Men of War of fifty Guns, and ſome light Frigats that ſerve for Convoys to their Merchantmen, Bound for the *Streights*, or for the Coaſt of *Portugal* or *Spain;* where the Sally-Rovers would be ſure to pick 'em up if they went without Convoys. The City is neither pretty nor ugly; but moſt of the Streets are ſo narrow, that the Coaches muſt ſtop or put back every foot. It affords good Diverſion enough; for commonly you have Plays Acted by *French* or *Italian* Actors, and a *German* Opera; which for *Houſe*, *Theatre* and *Scenes*, may vye with the beſt

in *Europe*. 'Tis true, the Habits of the Actours are as irregular as their Air and Meen; but then you muſt conſider that theſe two Suit one another. The Neighbourhood of *Hamburg* is truly very pretty in the Summer time, by reaſon of an infinity of Country Houſes, adorn'd with excellent Gardens, and great numbers of Fruit-Trees, which by the aſſiſtance of Art produce pretty good Fruit. But now that I am ſpeaking of the Country round *Hamburg*, I can't diſmiſs the Subject without acquainting you with one thing that is uncommon. In the Neighbourhood of *Hamburg* there are Fields of Battel, retaining to the Territories of *Denmark* and *Lubeck;* in which private Quarrels are adjuſted before an infinite number of Spectators, notice being given by the Sound of a Trumpet ſome days before the Champions enter the Liſts. One remarkable Circumſtance [224] is, that the Combatants, whether on Foot or on Horſe-Back, implore the Mediation of two Seconds, only in order to be Judges of the thruſts, and to part 'em when four drops of Blood are ſpilt; ſo that the Adventurers retire upon the leaſt ſcratch. If one of 'em falls upon the Ground, the Conqueror returns to the Territories of *Hamburg*, and makes a Triumphal Proceſſion to that City, while the Air rings with acclamations of Joy from the Spectators. Theſe Tragedies are not unfrequent; for *Hamburg* being reſorted to by an infinite number of Foreigners and Strangers, ſome diſorder or other always happens, which is redreſs'd that way. In former times, the *Danes*, *Swedes* and *Germans*, us'd to repair to the above mention'd Fields to adjuſt the Quarrels they had in their own Countries,

where Duelling was prohibited under ſevere Penalties. But the Soveraigns of thoſe Countries have ſince Stiffled ſuch Practices, by declaring that upon their return they ſhould be as ſeverely puniſh'd, as if the Action had been in their own Territories.

After ſtaying five or ſix days at *Hamburg*, I took leave of that City and ſet out for *Lubec* in a Poſt Waggon, that goes thither every day. Each place in the Coach is a Crown and a half. We arriv'd that ſame day at *Lubec*, and when we came to the Gates, were ask'd who we were; upon which every one gave a true account of their Country and Profeſſion; but the fear of being ſtop'd diſſuaded me from being ſo ſincere. To be free with you, Sir, I plaid the Jeſuit a little; for having guarded my Conſcience with a good meaning, I roundly told 'em I was a *Portugueſe* Merchant, and ſo got clear by ſuffering the affront of being hooted at for a *Jew*. In fine, we were all ſuffer'd to paſs without opening our Portmanteau's.

[225] The City of *Lubec* is neither ſo great nor ſo populous as *Hamburg;* but its Streets are broader and ſtraighter, and its Houſes are much finer. The Ships that arrive in this Port are rang'd all in a row, upon a very pretty Key that extends from one end of the Town to the other; and that in a River, that in my Opinion is deeper than 'tis broad. The greateſt Commerce of this Place retains to the *Baltick* Sea, which is not above two Leagues diſtant. The place from whence I now Write, is Seated exactly at the Mouth of this little River; which your great Ships can't enter, by reaſon of a *Bar* that has not above fourteen or fifteen Foot Water;

even when the Wind Springing from the Main ſwells this River after the ſame manner as the Tides of the Ocean. To morrow I think to Imbarque in a Frigat that carries Paſſengers from hence to *Copenhagen*, provided the Southerly Winds continue. I have taken the great Cabin for two *Ducatoons*, which is not above four *French* Crowns. *Ducats* are the moſt current and convenient Coin in all the Northern Countries; for they paſs in *Holland*, *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and in all the Principalities of *Germany:* But a Traveller muſt take care that they are full Weight, for otherwiſe the People will ſcruple to take 'em, or at leaſt cut off ſome *Sous* in the Change.

To conclude; I have met with good Inns hitherto in all the Towns I paſs'd thro'; and drank good *Bourdeaux* Wine both in *Hamburg* and *Lubec*. The People of the Country drink likewiſe *Rheniſh* and *Moſelle* Wines; but to my mind they are better to Boil Carp in than for any thing elſe. Adieu, Sir, I am now call'd upon to pack up my Baggage: I hope to ſee *Copenhagen* the day after to morrow, if ſo be that this Southerly Wind ſtands our Friend, as much as I am,

Sir, *Yours*, &c.

[226] LETTER III.

Dated at Copenhagen, *Sep.* 12 1694.

Containing a Deſcription of the Port *and* City *of* Copenhagen, *a View of the* Daniſh Court; *and of the* Humours, Cuſtoms, Commerce, Forces, *&c. of the* Danes.

SIR,

THE South-Eaſt Wind that blew when I Wrote laſt, wafted me into the Port of this good City of *Copenhagen;* after which it took leave of us, and purſued its courſe to the Northern Countries of *Sweden*, where its thawing influence had been expected for ſome days. This little Voyage, which was over in eight and fourty hours, afforded me diverſion enough; for I had the pleaſure of viewing to the Lar Board, or on the left hand, ſome *Daniſh* Iſles, which ſeem'd to be pretty Populous, if we may judge of that from the great number of Villages that I deſcry'd upon 'em, when we Sweep'd along their Coaſt in clear Weather with a freſh Gale. I take it, the croſſing of this Sea muſt be ſomewhat dangerous in Winter, by reaſon of the Banks of Sand that are met with in ſome places: For the Nights being long, and the Winds high in that Seaſon, no Precaution whatſoever would rid me of the fears of running upon the Sands, till I arriv'd at this City.

As ſoon as I ſet my foot on Shoar, the Waiters came and view'd my Portmanteau's, in which they found more Sheets of Paper than Piſtoles. [227] The next day after my Arrival, I waited upon Monſieur *de Bonrepaux*, who was then in the Country for the recovery of his Health: And for want of whom the Navy of *France* has ſuſtain'd an irreparable loſs.[1] This done, I return'd to this City, which may juſtly be liſted in the number of thoſe that we in *Europe* call great and pretty. 'Tis well and regularly Fortified, and 'tis pity 'tis not Wall'd with Stone, which is likewiſe a defect in the Cittadel that commands the Mouth of the Harbour. *Copenhagen* has one of the beſt Harbours in the World, for both Nature and Art have conſpir'd to ſhelter it from all Inſults. The City ſtands upon a ſmooth level Ground, the Streets are broad, and almoſt all the Houſes are three Story high, and built of Brick. Here you may ſee three very fine places; and amongſt the reſt, the King's Market, ſo call'd from his Statue on Horſe-Back, which is there erected. This Place is ſurrounded with ſome fine Houſes, and Monſieur *de Bonrepaux* Lodges in one of 'em, which is very large; and indeed that Ambaſſadour has occaſion for ſo great a Houſe, conſidering the numerouſneſs of his Retinue. The Magnificence of his Table is ſuitable

[1] Like Lahontan, François Dusson, Sieur de Bonrepaux, was of Gascon birth. By sheer ability he had raised himself from a humble position in the office of the marine to be chief of the French naval squadron. He was also a diplomatist of ability, and had been sent on important missions to England (1685–87); from 1693–97 he was French ambassador to Holland. As a patron of letters, he became interested in Lahontan, and endeavored to reëstablish his credit at the French court. See Macaulay's brilliant characterization, in his *History of England*. — Ed.

to the Grandeur of his Equipage: And every body pays him the honours and eſteem that his Character merits. But I'll inſiſt no longer upon that Head.

The City of *Copenhagen* is very advantageouſly Seated, as you may ſee in the Map of the Iſle of *Zealand;* and lies very conveniently for Merchantmen which come without any difficulty up to the Canals or Ditches that are cut thro' it. It contains very fine Edifices; particularly the Churches of *Notredame* and St. *Nicholas*, which are both great and fine. The round Tower paſſes for an admirable piece of Architecture, and has [228] a Stair-Caſe upon which a Coach may drive up to the top. The Library which ſtands in the middle of the round Tower is well Stock'd with Books and valuable Manuſcripts. The Exchange is an admirable Fabrick, in regard both to its length, and its Situation in the pleaſanteſt part of the Town. As for the Royal Palace, its Antiquity recommends it as much to me, as if it had been Built after the Modern way: For in the Maſſy Fabrick of a Caſtle, 'tis enough if the due Symmetry of Proportion be obſerv'd. The Furniture and Pictures in this Caſtle are admirably fine; and the Royal Cloſet is fill'd with an infinity of very curious Rarities. In the King's Stables there is now but a hundred Coach-Horſes, that is, thirteen or fourteen Set of different ſorts and ſizes; and a hundred and fifty Saddle-Horſes: But both the one and the other are equally fine. *Chriſtians-Fawe*, the Second City, is ſever'd from *Copenhagen* by a great Canal of running Water. The Royal Palace of *Rozemburg*, which ſtands at one end of the City, is adorn'd with a charming Garden.

I come now to give you the Characters of the Princes and Princeſſes at the Court of *Denmark*. 'Tis needleſs to take notice of the Valour and Vigilancy of the King, for the two chief Qualities of that Monarch are ſufficiently known to all the World.[1] I ſhall therefore only acquaint you that he is a Perſon of great Judgment and Capacity, and intirely Wrap'd up in the Intereſts of his Subjects, who look upon him as their Father and Deliverer. He has all the Qualities of a good General, and is affable and generous to the laſt degree. He ſpeaks with equal facility, the *Daniſh*, *Swediſh*, *Latin*, *German*, *Engliſh* and *French* Languages. The Queen is the moſt Accompliſh'd Princeſs in the World; and ſo I have [229] ſaid all in all. The Royal Prince is a Son worthy of ſo great a King for his Father, and ſuch a good and vertuous Queen for his Mother; as you have heard it proclaim'd by as many Tongues as there are Heads in *France*. He is a Maſter of Learning, and has a quick Apprehenſion joyn'd to a ſweet Temper. His Manners are as Royal as his Perſon, and all that ſee him wiſh him that Proſperity and Happineſs that his Phyſiognomy promiſes. Prince *Chriſtian* is a ſweet lovely Prince, as well as Prince *Charles* his younger Brother: A certain Air of Affability ſits upon their Foreheads and charms Mankind. Prince *William* the youngeſt Brother is a very pretty Child. Princeſs *Sophia*, who is commonly call'd the Royal Princeſs, has truly a Royal Air: She is Handſome, Young, well Shap'd and Witty as an Angel: Which is enough to entitle her to a Preference before all the Princeſſes upon

[1] For the king of Denmark, see p. 3, note 2, *ante*. — Ed.

Earth, not to mention a thouſand other good qualities, the Relation of which would prove too bulky for a *Miſſive*. Let's therefore call another Subject.

One may live in this Country for almoſt nothing, notwithſtanding that good Fiſh is ſomewhat dear: In the beſt Ordinaries about Town you pay but fifteen or ſixteen *Sous* a Meal. The Butchers Meat of this place is neither ſo juicy nor ſo nouriſhing as that in *France;* but their Poultry, their freſh Water-Fowl, their Hares and their Partridges are exceeding good. The beſt Claret coſts but fifteen *Sous* a Bottle. A Hackney-Coach may be hir'd for a Crown a day, and ſixty *Livres* a Month. The Water of this place is muddy and heavy, and for that reaſon we have recourſe to the Beer, which is clear and wholeſome, and very cheap. The *French* Refugees in *Copenhagen* are allow'd the free exerciſe of their Religion, under the direction of Monſieur [230] *de la Placette* a Miniſter of *Bearn*, who has a very good Penſion from the Queen, for Preaching in a publick Church, of which her Self is Protectreſs.

Commonly the King paſſes the Summer at his Country Seats, ſometimes at *Yegresburg*, ſometimes at *Fredericsburg*, and ſometimes at *Cronenburg*. There's ſcarce any Prince in the World that has better Accommodation for Dear-Hunting, than the King of *Denmark:* For all his Parks are full of broad Roads for purſuing the Chace; beſides that, the *Daniſh* Horſe have a long ſtretch of a Gallop, which is very convenient for Hunters; and the Dogs of that Country are ſcarce ever faulty. The King's Table is as nobly Served up, as you

can well imagine: So that when he returns from Hunting he finds a freſh Pleaſure in feeding on Angelical Fare. He is frequently imploy'd in reviewing his Troops, and viſiting his Forts, Magazines and Arſenals; and ſometimes he goes a Fowling with his Courtiers. About two Months ago I ſaw him Shoot about a quarter of a League out of Town: Upon which occaſion a Wood Fowl as big as a Cock was plac'd upon the top of a Maſt, and the King Shot at it firſt and took away a piece of its Neck with his Ball; after which his Courtiers Shot ſo dexterouſly that there was nothing left but a little bit of the Fowl, which the King hit at laſt, after a great many Sports-Men had attempted it in vain.

Moſt of the People in this place underſtand *French;* and perhaps the Gentlemen of the Royal Academy are not better Skill'd in the Purity and Delicacy of that Language, than the Counteſs *de Frizs;* who by her Wit, Birth and Beauty is juſtly accounted the Pearl and Ornament of the Court. The *Danes* are a proper ſort of People; they are civil, honourable, brave and active. They have ſomewhat that's very ingaging [231] in their Carriage, and bears an Air of affability and complaiſance. I take 'em to be a ſenſible thinking ſort of People, and free of that unſufferable affectiation and vanity that gives a diſreliſh to the Actions of other Nations: At leaſt 'tis apparent that a diſengag'd genteel Air ſhines thro' all their Actions. The *Daniſh* Ladies are very handſome and lively; generally they are very witty and brisk, and a ſparkling gayety hangs very agreeably about 'em, notwithſtanding that the nature of their Climate do's not promiſe it. The *Daniſh*

Men complain that they are too haughty and nice in their *Conduct;* and indeed they have reaſon to charge 'em with a ſcrupulous nicety; but as for their Pride I know nothing of it. They receive almoſt no viſits, and 'tis alleg'd that the reaſon of this reſerv'dneſs proceeds not ſo much from the deſign of avoiding the occaſion of Temptation, as from the fear of being Scandalis'd; for Slander reigns in this Country as much as elſewhere. In fine, they have more Vertue and Wiſdom than they ſhould have, in bearing the Sighs of Lovers without being mov'd. One may ſee 'em often enough at the Houſe of Mr. *de Guldenlew*, the King's natural Brother and Viceroy of *Norway*. That Gentleman, who indeed is one of the Statelieſt Men in *Europe*, takes pleaſure in keeping a Table every day for eighteen perſons, and regaling the Ladies and Perſons of Quality. After Dinner the Gentlemen make Matches to Game or Walk out with the Ladies. The ſame Entertainment, and the ſame ſort of Company is to be met with at the Count *de Revenclaw*'s, who is look'd upon as one of the moſt Zealous and Capable Miniſters that the King has. Theſe Dinners or Entertainments are ſomewhat too long for me, who am accuſtom'd to Dine Poſt, I mean, to fill my Belly in five or ſix [232] Minutes; for commonly they laſt above two hours. The excellent Meſſes which are then Serv'd up in great plenty, Feaſt at once the taſte, the ſight and the ſmell. For; in fine, there's no difference between thoſe Tables and the beſt about the *French* Court, unleſs it be that the former have great pieces of Salt Beef ſet upon 'em; and I truly think the *Danes* would be Guilty of an indiſcreet Action in eating of

it ſo heartily, if they did not take care to waſh the Salt out of their Throat with good Liquor.

Among the different ſorts of Wine that are commonly drank at *Copenhagen*, the *Cahers* and the *Pontac* are the only Wines that ſuit a *French Man*'s Palate. It ſeems to be an inviolable Cuſtom in all the Northern Countries, to ſwill down two or three good Draughts of Beer, before they turn to Wine, which they value too much to ſpoil it with Water. I am told that in former times they us'd to ſit four or five hours at Meals, and drink briskly all the while, in ſpite of the threats of the Gout. But now adays that cuſtom is in diſuſe; beſides, the Glaſſes are ſo ſmall and the number of the Healths ſo moderate, that they riſe from Table in very good order: Not but that ſometimes upon extraordinary Solemnities, the Gueſts lye under an indiſpenſible Obligation to drink huge Bumpers in certain *Wellcomes;* which in ancient times were in uſe among the *Grecians* under the name of ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος. I tremble when I call to mind theſe Bumpers, ever ſince a fatal accident befell me about two Months ago in Mr. *de Guldenlew*'s Houſe: That Gentleman regal'd ſome eighteen or twenty Perſons of both Sexes, in Solemniſing the Birth of his Children; and Fate would have it ſo that I had the honour to be one of the Male Gueſts, who were all oblig'd, excepting Mr. *de Bonrepos*, to drink two dozen of Bumpers to the Health of the preſent and abſent [233] Children. I proteſt, I was very much out of Countenance, and would have almoſt choſe to drink up the River of St. *Laurence*, rather than theſe Fountains of Wine; for there was no poſſibility of baulking a Glaſs. 'Twas then

too late to reflect upon the ſtrange Poſture I was in; for as the Proverb goes, the Wine was drawn, and I was oblig'd to drink it; I mean, I was oblig'd to do as the reſt did. However, towards the concluſion of Dinner they put round a great *Wellcome* that held two Bottles; and all the Gentlemen were oblig'd to drink it brim-ful, as a Health to the Royal Family; God knows, the deſpairing Mariner never trembled more gracefully upon the diſmal Proſpect of a Ship-Wrack, than I did upon the approach of the Bumper. In fine, I confeſs to you, I drank it, but for the latter part of the Story I beg your Pardon; for I have no mind to glory in the Heroick Action that I did in imitation of three or four more, who diſcharg'd their Conſcience juſt under the Table as gracefully as I. After that fatal blow, I was ſo mortified that I durſt not appear; nay, I had a ſtrong fancy to leave the Country out of hand, and would certainly have done it, if my Pot Companions and thoſe who ſhar'd the diſgrace, had not diſſuaded me by an infinity of *German* Proverbs that ſeem'd to applaud the generous Exploit; among which the following had the greateſt influence, *viz. If we are aſham'd in taking too much, we ought to place our Glory in giving it up again.*

The *Daniſh* Gentry live very handſomely upon their Land-Rents, and the Peaſants want for nothing, no more than ours, unleſs it be for Mony. They have a ſufficient Stock of Grain and Cattel, which ſerves to maintain 'em in a groſs way, and to pay the Landlord's Rents. Is not it enough that they are well clad and well fed? [234] I would fain know what advan-

tage the *Dutch* Boors reap from their Crowns, while they feed upon nothing but Cheeſe and Butter-ſpread upon * *Pompernick.* If their Crowns and Dollars ſerve only to pay the Taxes of the Republick, they muſt be very Blind in hugging a Shadow of Liberty, which they purchaſe at the expence of the Subſtance that maintains both Life and Health.

* Pompernick *is a ſort of Bread, as black as a Chimney, as heavy as Lead, and as hard as Horn.*

The beſt thing the *Danes* ever did, was that of ſetting their Kings upon the ſame Foot as they now are. The Prince that ſways the Scepter at preſent, exerciſes an Arbitrary Power with as much Equity as his Predeceſſor. Before their Government was reduc'd to this happy lay, the Kingdom was overrun with factious Clubs and Civil Wars; the State and Society it ſelf was all in diſorder; the Grandees cruſh'd the inferiour Subjects, and even the Kings themſelves were oblig'd to ſtoop (if I may ſo ſpeak) to the Laws of their Subjects. In a word, their Eyes being dazled with that Phantaſm of Liberty, which by a treacherous luſtre impoſes upon ſeveral other Nations; they were thereby render'd Slaves to ſo many petty Kings, who acted like abſolute Soveraigns without fearing the limited Power of their Monarchs.

At preſent, the King of *Denmark*'s Revenue amounts to five Millions of Crowns. This I know to be a juſt and true State of his Treaſury: He maintains near thirty thouſand Men of regular Troops, in good order, well diſciplin'd and well pay'd; beſides the Militia who are always ready to March

upon a call. Nay farther, he may raiſe fourty thouſand Men more, upon occaſion, without diſpeopling his Country. His [235] Officers are provided for at a reaſonable rate, eſpecially the Marine Officers who are not allotted, (as ours are in *France*,) any greater Pay than what bears a juſt proportion to the poor Captains of Foot and Horſe, who are oblig'd to pinch hard to anſwer the Charges that the Sea Captains are exempted from. 'Tis ſaid, the King of *Denmark* finds his account in letting out his Troops to his Allies, not with regard to the Mony pay'd on that account, but in regard that by this means he keeps his Troops in exerciſe, inures 'em to the hardſhips of War, and makes 'em compleat Maſters of the Military Art; in order to make uſe of 'em upon occaſion. You muſt know, Sir, his *Daniſh* Majeſty is above that ridiculous Scruple that moſt other Princes make to imploy Foreigners or thoſe of another Religion in their Service. The *Meſſieurs de Cormaillon*, *Dumeni*, *L'Abat*, and ſeveral others have conſiderable Poſts in his Army, notwithſtanding that they are *French Men* and *Papiſts*. From hence it appears that this Monarch is convinc'd that Men of Honour will rather differve their Religion than act counter to the Fidelity due to their Maſter: And to be plain with you, I believe the King is in the right of it: For ſince the Foundation of all Religion conſiſts in the Fidelity we owe to God, to our Friend and to our Benefactor; nothing will be able to unhinge a Man of Honour, or to tempt him to act contrary to his Duty. I will not pretend to meaſure the actions of others by my own Standard; but for my own part, I aſſure you if I had liſted my ſelf in the

Service of the *Turks*, with the liberty of continuing Popiſh; and if Orders were iſſued forth for laying *Rome* in Aſhes, I would be the firſt Man to ſet fire to it, in obedience to the *Grand Seignior*'s Orders. But we have enough of that.

[236] The *Daniſh* Laws, contain'd in the *Latin* Book I now ſend you, will appear to you ſo clear, ſo diſtinct, and ſo wiſely Concerted, that they'll ſeem to have proceeded from the Mouth of St. *Paul:* You'll find by them that this Country do's not countenance Solicitors, Barriſters, and the reſt of the litigious Tribe. I own indeed that the Law relating to Man-Slaughter is unreaſonable; for you'll find that by the Penalty therein enacted, a Man that kills his Enemy runs much the ſame riſque as if he had ſuffer'd himſelf to be kill'd.

The Court of *Denmark* makes as good a Figure in proportion to its Greatneſs, as any other Court in *Europe*. The Lords and Courtiers have very magnificent Equipages; and which is ſingular, none but thoſe of the Royal Family are allow'd to give a Red Livery. The time of appearing at Court is from Noon to half an hour after one, or thereabouts; during which time the King appears in a Hall fill'd with very fine Gentlemen. Here you'll ſee nothing but Imbroidery and Lace after the neweſt Faſhion. The Foreign Miniſters make their appearance at the ſame time, for the King do's 'em the honour of hearing them Talk with a great deal of Pleaſure. There are but few Knights of the Order of the *Elephant* to be ſeen at Court, by reaſon that the Dignity is beſtow'd only upon Perſons of the firſt Rank. This Order may juſtly be call'd the nobleſt in *Europe*, and leſs degenerate than the reſt;

inſomuch, that of thirty four Knights Companions, which make up the Compliment of the Order, three fourths are Soveraign Princes. The Order of **Danebrouk* is more common, and conſequently leſs conſiderable; tho' after all, the Knights inveſted with that Collar, [237] are intitled to ſeveral great Prerogatives and marks of Preheminence.

* Danebrouk *ſignifies the White Order.*

The natural Sons of the Kings of *Denmark*, bear the Title of † *Guldenlew* and *High Excellence*,* and their Ladies are diſtinguiſh'd by the Compellation of *High Grace.* The preſent King has two natural Sons, whoſe Merit leaves all Expreſſion far behind it. The eldeſt Serves in *France* with all imaginable Applauſe. The Second who is but fifteen years of Age and continues here, is a very promiſing Youth: He has a wonderful deal of Senſe and Wit; his Perſon is Handſome and well Shap'd; he is poſſeſs'd of all the Qualities that ingage the tender Sex; his Meen is perfectly charming; in a word, he is one of the compleateſt young Gentlemen I ever ſaw. He is nominated High Admiral of *Denmark;* and, which is very ſurpriſing, he is better vers'd in the *Mathematicks* and the Art of Building Ships, than the ableſt Maſters. In the King of *Denmark*'s Dominions there are two Popiſh Churches publickly Tolerated; one at *Glucſtat* and the other at *Altena.*

† Guldenlew *ſignifies a Golden Lion.*

* *Which is equivalent to the* German *Highneſs.*

The Air of this Country is very wholſome for thoſe who live ſoberly; but it has a contrary effect upon diſcontented Perſons. The only Diſeaſe they complain of is the *Scurvy;*

which the Phyſicians impute to a foul naſty Air loaded with an infinity of thick and condenſated Vapours, which joyn their Forces upon the Surface of the Earth, and inſinuate themſelves into the Lungs along with the Air: They plead that their Air thus polluted, joyns in with the Blood, and retards its Motion in ſo much that it congeals, and ſo gives riſe to the *Scurvy*. But with the leave of [238] the good Doctors, I'll take the liberty to Vindicate the Air of this agreeable City, and beg 'em to conſider that the impreſſions of the Air upon the Maſs of Blood are leſs forcible than thoſe of the Aliment. If the *Scurvy* took its riſe from the unfavourable Qualities of the Air; by conſequence every body would be equally liable to it; but this we find to be falſe, for that three quarters of the *Daniſh* Nation are clear of that Diſtemper. The Argument I now offer is grounded on the Obſervations I made upon all the Soldiers that dy'd of that Diſeaſe at the Forts of *Frontenac* and *Niagara* in the year 1687 (which I imparted to you in my * Letters Dated the next year.) In thoſe Forts we have the pureſt and wholſomeſt Air in the World; and for that reaſon it ſtands more to reaſon to attribute the Invaſion of the *Scurvy* (which then reign'd) to the nature of the Aliment; I mean, to the Salt Meat, Butter and Cheeſe, as well as to immoderate Sleep and want of Exerciſe. This account of the matter will be back'd by all who have made long Voyages, when they conſider the terrible havock that the *Scurvy* makes upon the Ship's Crews. I conclude therefore that the frequency of the *Scurvy* is owing to bad Victuals, pur-

* *See my Letters in the firſt* Volume, *dated in* 1688.

ſuant to the Opinion of a very ſenſible Gentleman whom I credit very much. This Gentleman repreſented one day, that ſuch acid Food increaſes the acidity of the Blood; and ſo it comes to paſs that the Blood of Scorbutick Perſons is deſtitute of Spirits; or at leaſt, its Spirits are ſo thin and ſcanty that they are eaſily abſorbed and invelop'd by the prevailing acids, and by that means put under an impoſſibility of exciting Fermentations. As for the influence of immoderate Sleep and [239] long Reſt, all the World knows that they have a great tendency to the obſtruction of the Inteſtines, and promote the Generation of Crude Juices, in cramping the Senſible and wonted Evacuations, partly by the ſlower Motion of the Spirits, and partly by the Inſenſible Tranſpiration of the Sublimer Particles. From theſe Remarks I conclude, that freſh Meat, good Porridge, regular Sleep, and moderate Exerciſe *(ad ruborem non ad ſudorem)* are Antidotes againſt the *Scurvy*, and the beſt Correctives of the Maſs of Blood, whether by Sea or Land.

If this digreſſion, Sir, ſeems too long; I would have you to impute it to my earneſt deſire, of directing you how to ward off that ugly Diſtemper, when you come to undertake any long Voyage. I would not have you think that I have thus interrupted the thread of my Diſcourſe, with intent to prove that the Air of this Iſland is better than that of *Portugal:* That's a thing I know nothing of; for whatever Air I breath in, I am ſtill equally well. 'Tis true, the inconſtancy of the Weather might affect me in ſome meaſure, if I were oblig'd to paſs the remainder of my life in *Copenhagen;* for here we

have frequent inſtances of the Weather's changing three or four times a day, and ſhifting from cold to hot, from dry to wet, and from clear to cloudy.

I had the honour to pay my profound reſpects to the King of *Denmark* at his Caſtle of *Fredericksbourg*, upon the occaſion of his Inſtalling ſome *German* Princes by Proxy in the Order of the Elephant. That Ceremony which indeed was very pretty, drew thither a great confluence of perſons of a diſtinguiſhing Character; particularly all the Foreign Miniſters who were proud of aſſiſting at the Solemnity. Some days after that Prince went to take the Air at *Cronengbourg*, [240] which ſtands directly upon the ſide of the ſtreight call'd the *Sund*. This Caſtle has a regular Fortification, being Wall'd with Brick, and cover'd with a great number of wide bore'd and long Culverines, which command the entry of the Streight, that I take to be the breadth of Three thouſand five hundred Geometrical Paces, that is to ſay, a large *French* League. Here you have the pleaſure of Seeing an infinity of Foreign Ships paſs to and again between the Ocean and the *Baltick-Sea:* And in regard that the Guns of *Cronengbourg* are the Keys of this Port, all Foreign Ships lye under an indiſpenſable neceſſity of coming to an Anchor at *Elſenor*, to pay the Toll before they go farther. You may allege, perhaps, that a Numerous Fleet of Men of War might force their Paſſage at the expence of a little Cannonading: and indeed I own the allegation to be juſt; but if the King of *Denmark*'s Navy were at Anchor in the Streight, I am perſwaded they would be able to ſecure the Paſs: and for that reaſon you

ought not to think it ſtrange that his *Daniſh* Majeſty exacts a moderate Toll from the Merchantmen of all Nations, except the *Swedes:* At leaſt I think he has a better Title to demand it, than the *Grandſignior* has in the *Dardanelles.* For moſt of the Ships that ſail to the *Baltick*, go to Trade with *Lubeck*, *Brandenbourg*, *Dantzick*, *Pruſſia*, *Courland*, *Livonia* and *Sweden;* whereas thoſe which paſs the *Dardanelles* are bound for the *Grandſignior*'s Ports, and Trade with none but his own Subjects. I would fain know whether the King of *Spain* would not make the like pretenſions to a Toll upon the Streight of *Gibraltar*, if ſo be that *Europe* and *Africa* were ſo friendly as to ſit a little nearer together. Nay, put the impoſſible ſuppoſition out of the caſe, who knows but that Prince may make ſuch a [241] demand, when he comes to have a Puiſſant Naval Force? This Queſtion is not ſo Problematick as you think for. However, a great many people are of the opinion that they might eaſily avoid the Toll of the *Sund*, if they did but ſteer obſtinately through one of the two *Belts:* But they are miſtaken. 'Tis true indeed, the thing might take, if the Sands in the Sea were as fixt as they are in the Charts; but that they are not; for the former ſhift in every Storm, whereas the latter ſtand for ever in the ſame Paper-ſtation. Beſides there's an infinity of cover'd Rocks, and irregular Currents, unknown to the experteſt Pilots, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance of their Maps and * *Sea-Charts.*

* *Books of Hydrographical Charts.*

To call up another Subject; Suffer me to acquaint you that *Denmark* produces a great many Commodities which are

ſold with great Advantage to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch;* particularly *Rye*, *Corn*, *Cyder*, *Mead*, *Apples*, *Oxen*, *Cows*, *Fat Hogs*, *Horſes*, *Iron*, *Copper*, and all ſorts of Timber, eſpecially Maſts from *Norway*, which affords ſome of one piece that are big enough for *Noah*'s *Ark*. In *Norway* there are ſome Silver Mines, which, 'tis ſaid, the King might get by, if he would be at the charge of Digging. The *Norwegians* ſell likewiſe the Skins of *Bears*, *Foxes*, *Martins*, *Otters* and *Elks;* but they are not ſo fine as thoſe of *Canada*.

To come to the King of *Denmark*'s Naval Force; his Fleet which is always kept in good order, as well as his Magazines and Arſenals, conſiſts of Twenty Eight Ships in the Line of Battle, Twenty Six Fregats and Four or Five Fireſhips; particularly

8 Ships from 80 to 100 Guns.
10 Ships from 60 to 80 Guns.
10 Ships from 50 to 60 Guns.
[242] 16 Fregats from 10 to 26 Guns.
3 Bomb Veſſels.

He maintains 1800 Carpenters and 400 Gunners. The Sea Captains Pay is not always the ſame. Some have Three Hundred, ſome Four Hundred Crowns a Year. The Captain Commodores have five hundred, and the Commodores ſix hundred: Beſides theſe, there are twelve Marine Volunteers, call'd Apprentices, who have a hundred Crowns a Year. But after all, you'll be pleas'd to conſider that theſe Allowances are not ſo ſorry as you may think for; for in *Denmark* a Man may live for thirty Crowns, better than for a hundred Crowns in *France*.

Beſides the above mention'd Fleet, his Majeſty may, upon occaſion, call for twenty four Ships from 40 to 60 Guns, which his Subjects are oblig'd to fit out at his Pleaſure, and which are otherwiſe imploy'd in Trading to *Portugal*, *Spain*, and the *Mediterranean*. 'Tis to be obſerv'd by the bye, that a *Daniſh* Ship of fifty Guns may ſafely venture a Broad-Side with a *French* or *Engliſh* Ship of ſixty, by reaſon that their Timber is very ſtrong, and their Guns of a wide Bore. All the *Daniſh* Men of War are Built with half-flat Ribs, which occaſions their heavy Sailing. Their Maſts are very thick and ſhort; Short that they may not bend under the Sails when they Weather Capes, Iſlands, Rocks and Banks in a Storm; and thick that they may bear the Sails tight, in doubling theſe Capes, Iſlands, *&c.* when the Boiſterous Winds furrow the Surface of the *Baltick*. The King of *Denmark*'s Sea Men are well entertain'd, and well pay'd, and have twelve Crowns Bounty-Mony over and above their Wages, as ſoon as the Fleet is laid up. But at the ſame time, you muſt know that three thouſand Sea Men are kept in conſtant Pay, and lodg'd in [243] an uniform Row of Barracks in the Streets of this City.

I ſhall conclude this Letter with a View of the Coin and Current Mony of the Kingdom.

A *Bank* Rix Dollar is worth 50 *Lubec* Pence.

A *Daniſh* Rix Dollar goes for 48 *Lubec* Pence.

A *Shet Dal* is worth 32 *Lubec* Sous.

A Marc-lubs paſſes for 16 Stuivers of *Lubec*.

A Marc *Daniſh* is worth 8 *Lubec* Stuivers.

A half Mark *Daniſh* is worth 4 *Lubec* Pence.

One *Lubec* Penny is worth two *Daniſh* Pence, and two *Daniſh* Pence are of the ſame value with fourteen *French* Deniers, which is much the ſame with an *Engliſh* Penny; and by this Standard you may reduce all the above mention'd Denominations.

A Gold Ducat is worth two *Daniſh* Rix Dollars and fourteen Pence; ſometimes 'tis two Pence under or over. A Roſe-Noble is two Ducats. A Silver *Lowis* or a *French* Crown paſſes in *Denmark* for a *Daniſh* Rix Dollar; and the half and quarter Crowns obſerve the ſame proportion, as well as the *Louis d' Ores*.

In the Iſland of *Zealand* the Leagues conſiſt of 4200 Geometrical Paces; the *Norway* Leagues are longer, and thoſe of *Holſtein* are of leſs extent. The *Copenhagen* Ell is an Inch and a half bigger than the *French* half Ell.

I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

[244] LETTER IV.

Dated at *Paris*, *Dec.* 29. 1694.

Containing a Journal of the Author's Travels from Copenhagen *to* Paris.

SIR,

I LEFT *Copenhagen* three days after the Date of my laſt; being accommodated with Mr. *de Bonrepeau*'s Coaches, who to avoid the fatigue of paſſing between the two *Belts*, had gone before to Wait upon the King of *Denmark* at *Coldinck*. You muſt know, that Prince goes thither Poſt every Year, notwithſtanding that his Retinue amounts to a thouſand or twelve hundred Persons. Upon that occaſion, the Boors of the Villages adjacent to the Road, are oblig'd to bring their Horſes to certain Places at an appointed hour, in order to draw the Coaches and Waggons that contain that numerous Retinue, with their Baggage. Tho' theſe Horſes are little, yet they are ſtrong, vigorous, tidy, inſenſible of cold, and ſo very light, that they'll go you a good Trott as faſt as a Gallop. The Stages for ſhifting the Horſes are two or three Leagues, as well as thoſe for the Horſe-Guards which conduct the King from place to place, and are reliev'd every Stage.

We ſet out from *Copenhagen Sept.* 15. and after three hours Travelling, arriv'd at *Roskild*, which makes ſix of thoſe Leagues

of which twenty goe to a degree. We paſs'd ſo ſpeedily that we had only time to view the Tombs of the Kings of *Denmark*, while the Boors put freſh Horſes in the [245] Coaches. These *Marble Mauſoleums* are a finiſh'd piece of Architecture, and adorn'd with *Baſſe Releivo's* and *Latin Inſcriptions*. The fine Marble of which they are Built, is very well Poliſh'd, being that of *Paros*, and *Africa*, and that call'd *Brocatelle*, *Serpentine* and *Cipellino*. The Tombs are plac'd in the Chappel of an ancient Church, that belong'd to the *Benedictins* before *Luther*'s Remonſtrances. The ſame very day we came to take up our night's Lodging in a Village near the great *Belt;* having enjoy'd the pleaſure of viewing by the way, ſome admirable Land-Skips. Next day at eight a Clock in the Morning, we arriv'd at the Town of *Cortos*, which ſtands upon the Chops of the above mention'd Streight; and is Fortified with Earth.

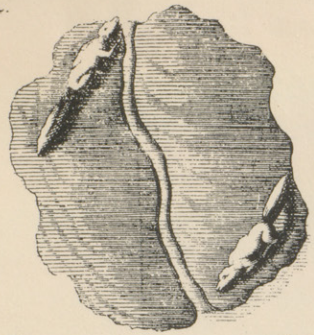
As ſoon as we Imbarqu'd in the Yacht that lay ready for Mr. *de Bonrepau*, we ſet Sail; but in croſſing theſe four Leagues of Sea, the Wind was ſo low and the Sea ſo calm, that one might have drank Bumpers upon the Deck without ſpilling. We no ſooner landed at *Nibourg*, a little paltry place regularly Fortified, than we took Coach, and ſet out for *Odenzee*, the Capital City of *Fionia*, where we lay that Night. *Odenzee* ſtands in the middle of that Iſland, which is one of the moſt fertile Territories of *Denmark*. The Cathedral Church is as handſome as 'tis large. In former times this City was the Reſidence of the Kings of *Denmark*, and the Inhabitants were ſo Barbarous as to murder one of their

Princes. The Nobility of the Iſland vye with thoſe of *Venice* for Antiquity; eſpecially the Family of *Trool*, which ſignifies *Sorcerer*, and which bears a Devil *Sable* upon a Field *Gules* for their Arms: From whence I conclude that this *Leo Rugiens* was more tractable and illuſtrious in the Primitive [246] times, than in thoſe of the * Author of the *Seven Trumpets*, or elſe the Ancient Nobility would not have glory'd in placing him in their Coats of Arms.

* *An old Dotard that advances a thouſand idle Whims, which are enough to turn a Woman's Brains.*

The 18*th* we ſet out for *Midelford*, where we found a Barque that wafted us over from the farther ſide of the little *Belt*, after halting two or three hours in vain, for the coming up of the Waggons with Mr. *de Bonrepau*'s Domeſticks and Proviſions. As ſoon as we croſs'd over, we receiv'd Advice that they had miſs'd their way; but we were ſo pinch'd with Hunger that we were forc'd to go to a Farmer's Houſe, and dreſs with our own Hands ſome Broil'd Meat and Pan-Cakes, that we eat without drinking; for our Landlords Beer was as Wretched as his Water. Some time after the Ambaſſadour's Equipage Arriv'd; but 'twas then ſo very late that we were forc'd to tarry all night in that Houſe of Martyrdom. The next day we arriv'd at *Coldinck*, where the Magiſtrate took care to provide Lodgings for the Ambaſſador in one of the beſt Houſes in Town. Three or four days after, the King arriv'd at the ſame place.

This little Town is Seated in the Country of *Jutland*, upon the Banks of a ſhallow Gulf that is Navigable only by Barques: But at the ſame time, 'tis very conſiderable upon



The arms of the Outagamis call'd foxes



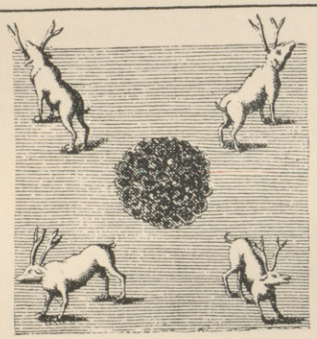
The arms of the Outchipoues alias Jauteurs



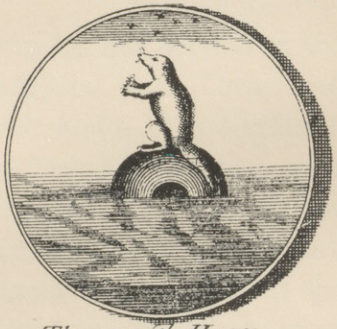
The arms of the Pouteouatamis call'd Puants



The arms of the Oumamis.



The arms of 5 Outaouas 5 nations.



The arms of the Hurons



The arms of 5 Hinest



The arms of the Nadoues[illegible]

the account of the Toll for Cattel that's pay'd at that place, and brings into the Royal Treaſury near two hundred thouſand Rix Dollars. The Caſtle is an ancient Pile of Stone, that contains a great many Rooms: But 'tis Situated to great advantage, for it ſtands on an Eminence that affords you a View of all the Country round. The *Danes* would have us believe upon their Word, [247] that an Angel was ſent from Heaven to the great Hall of this Caſtle, to acquaint *Chriſtian* III. King of *Denmark*, that God was ready to receive him after three days. They add, that in order to perpetuate the Memory of this miraculous Viſion, the very place where this Heavenly Ambaſſadour had Audience of the Prince, was took notice of, and a great Poſt was fix'd in it, which I ſaw every time I went to Court; for 'twas in that very Hall that the King made his publick Appearance all the time he was at *Coldinck*.

We took leave of *Coldinck* on the 24*th*, and Arriv'd on the 25*th* at *Rensbourg*, after paſſing by ſeveral little Towns and Royal Seats, the Deſcription of which would be too tedious. I ſhall only tell you by the bye, we have a great deal more pleaſure than fatigue in Riding Poſt in this Country, whether in Coach or Waggon, by reaſon of the evenneſs of the Ground, which affords as few Stones as Mountains. As ſoon as the King Arriv'd at *Rensbourg*, he review'd the Fortifications of the Place, which may eaſily be made one of the beſt Forts in *Europe*. Then he review'd a Body of Foot and Horſe, and had a great deal of reaſon to be ſatisfied with their appearance. After ſome days he ſet out for *Glucſtat*, a little Town

upon the *Elbe;* almoſt as regularly Fortified as the laſt I ſpoke of. In the mean time Mr. *de Bonrepau*, who could not follow that Monarch, by reaſon of ſome Buſineſs he had to adjuſt with the Abbot *Bidal* at *Renſbourg*, gave me recommendatory Letters to ſeveral Perſons, who he thought would be able to influence Mr. *de Ponchartrain:* But he was miſtaken in his Conjecture, as you'll ſee preſently.

After taking leave of the Ambaſſadour, I went to *Hamburg*, where I was inform'd that Count *Caniſſec*, the Emperor's Envoy extraordinary to [248] the Court of *Denmark*, ſollicited the *Burgomaſters* to Arreſt me. The Surmiſe ſeem'd to be not improbable, for I knew that ſome time before he had taken up a Prejudice againſt me at *Fredericſbourg*, upon the account of ſome Illuminations that were made in that place; which oblig'd me to flie with all expedition to *Altena*, and tarry there for a Paſſport from the Duke of *Bavaria*, without which I had certainly been taken up in the *Spaniſh Flanders*.[1] I had no ſooner receiv'd this intelligence, than I met with the favourable opportunity of a return Coach bound for *Amſterdam*, where I found a place at an eaſy rate, without being incommoded with a Croud of Paſſengers, for there was but four of us, *viz.* An old *Engliſh* Merchant, a *German* Lady with her Chamber-Maid, and I. The Journey laſted eight days, and would have ſeem'd eight courſes of Eternity to me, if it had not been for the agreeable Converſation of that lovely Lady, who ſpoke ſuch good *French*, as to expreſs her ſelf

[1] Maximilien II was Duke of Bavaria (1679–1726). A firm ally of the Spanish monarch, his passport would secure a traveller in the realms of that ruler. — ED.

very handſomely. You muſt conſider, Sir, that the Ways of *Arabia Deſerta* are not ſo bad as the Roads of *Weſtphalia;* at leaſt 'tis certain they are not ſo dirty. But the chief inconveniency lies in the Inns; for you muſt know, all the publick Houſes upon the Road are downright Hoſpitals; the Landlords of which would Starve for hunger, if Foreigners had not the Charity to give 'em a Share of their Proviſions, which they are forc'd to gather in from the Rich Farmers that live at a diſtance one from another. In theſe wretched Retreats you muſt reſt ſatisfied in lying upon Straw; and all the Comfort a poor Traveller has, conſiſts in this, that he may command his Landlord and Landlady, and their Children, to go and run where he pleaſes. If you find a Frying-Pan and a Kettle to dreſs your Meat withal, you're a happy [249] Man. Wood indeed there's good Store of; and their Chimneys being Built ſquare, and ſtanding by themſelves, a hundred Perſons may ſit and Warm themſelves at the Fire.

In the mean time, I admir'd the Patience of the *German* Lady, who was ſo far from complaining of the Hardſhips of the Journy, that ſhe took pleaſure in rallying upon the *Engliſh* Merchant, her Maid and my ſelf, who were all mightily out of humour. I conjectur'd from her air and carriage, that ſhe was a Perſon of Quality; and I found afterwards I was not miſtaken, for ſince we parted, I heard ſhe was a Counteſs of the Empire. She was ſo well acquainted with the *French* humours, that I did not doubt but that ſhe had been at *Paris:* But the thing that confirm'd me in that Opinion, was her talking ſo accurately of the Perſons of the firſt Quality about

Court; not to mention that ſhe had an old *French* Servant, a *Roman Catholick*, that could ſcarce ſpeak a Word of High *Dutch*. The Lady was of a large Stature and well Made; ſhe look'd brisk enough, and her Beauty was ſo affecting that ſhe us'd all her efforts in vain, to make me believe ſhe was five and fifty years of Age. She could not endure to be anſwer'd, that her freſh and lively Complexion gave the lie to her Arithmetick; this ſhe took for an affront, alledging that the Charms of a Woman beyond fifty, are too much Shrivel'd to cauſe Admiration. This, I take it, is a very ſingular and uncommon thing, for the reſt of her Sex are ſcarce accuſtom'd to that ſort of Language, in regard that they'd rather their Vertue were attack'd than their Beauty: But whatever be in that matter, ſhe ſeem'd to be mightily prepoſſeſs'd againſt the *French*, in branding 'em for a light, giddy brain'd, indiſcreet People, and ſtill reflecting upon 'em for [250] thinking meanly of the *Germans*. "How comes it to paſs, ſaid ſhe, that the *French* "have the impudence to deny the *Germans* the Character of "*Witty*, and to take 'em for a groſs heavy People; inſtead of "acknowledging their juſt Title to ſolid Senſe and Reflection, "by vertue of which they dive judiciouſly to the bottom of "things? What is it, continued ſhe, that the *French* require "as eſſential to the Character of *avoir de l'eſprit?* Muſt we "value our ſelves upon a livelyneſs, and a falſe ſparkling Wit "that dazzles with a vain Splendor? Muſt we mak't our "buſineſs to procure a ready and ſubtle imagination, in order "to dreſs idle Flams in Gilded Words? No, no; that nicety "of expreſſion is but Whip'd Cream: And to ſpeak the juſ-

" tice of the matter, we ought to allow the *French* a preferable " Title to the Science of ſpeaking well, and to the *Germans* a " juſt claim of going beyond 'em in juſt thoughts. But this was not all: For ſhe attack'd the *French* Pride ſo vigorouſly, that ſhe made Preſumption and Vanity their ordinary and leſſer Crimes. This ſhews, ſhe had been in *France;* to which for a farther proof ſhe added, that the *French* inſulted the *Germans* with theſe ridiculous Proverbs; *viz. This Fellow's as fooliſh as a German; He pick'd a German Quarrel with me; he takes me for a German. Such a Woman would make a good German Woman*, i. e. She is ſimple and fooliſh. At the ſame time, I endeavour'd to diſſuade her from ſuch unfavourable thoughts, by remonſtrating that ſhe ought to make a wide diſtinction between the ſenſible People of *France*, and thoſe who are ſuch fools as to imagine themſelves a Standard for all other Nations. I intreated her to throw off her prejudicate Apprehenſions, and to believe that the knowing part of our World have a profound [251] eſteem for the *Germans*, and cry up their Merit, their Probity, their ſtrong Senſe, and their inviolable Fidelity. In earneſt, Sir, the Perſons of any Note in *Germany*, have a juſt Title to all theſe good qualities; nay, the Etymology of the Word, *(Alleman*, i. e. a *German)* gives us ſome light as to their Character: For *All* and *Man* imports that they are a People capable of any thing, like the *Jeſuits* to whom ſome give the Title of *Jeſuiſta Omnis Homo*, and who are therefore ſaid to be *Germans*, by a Sophiſtical way of Punning. But this is not all that may be offer'd on their behalf; there are a thouſand things that ſpeak the Merit of the *Germans*. We

are indebted to 'em for the diſcovery of the property of the *Load-Stone*, without which the New World had never reach'd our knowledg; for the Invention of *Printing*, which has taught us to diſtinguiſh Fabulous Manuſcripts from Divine Writings; for the Invention of *Clocks*, of the Caſting of *Guns*, *Bells*, &c. This gives plain evidence of their diſtinguiſhing Induſtry and Capacity. Add to all this that *Germany* has produc'd Soldiers, who by their Valour and Bravery made the *Capitol* to tremble, after defeating the *Roman Conſuls*, and ſtanding the Brunts of all the Courage and Puiſſance of the *Roman Legions;* That it has been equally fertile in great Men, in the way of Learning, particularly *Juſtus Lipſius*, *Furſtemberg*, Mr. *Spanheim*, and *Melanchthon*.[1] All this I repreſented to the Lady; but when I mention'd *Melanchthon*, ſhe interrupted me, and ſaid, ſhe was ſurpris'd to find that the *French* twitted the *Germans* with the Vice of hard Drinking, ſince themſelves ſtood chargeable with *Plato*'s Crime. I had almoſt made anſwer, that if the *French* had the ſame reliſh of things with that Philoſopher, their only view was to love Superannuated Ladies with as much Paſſion [252] as he did his old *Archeanaſſa:* But I contented my ſelf in replying, that the *Germans* being diſoblig'd by having the Character of *Hard Drinkers* thrown upon 'em, made their repriſals upon the *French*, by faſtening upon *them* the imputation

[1] A group of German savants, of whom Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) was a great authority upon Roman antiquities; the Prince von Furstemberg (1625–82) was archbishop of Strassburg, and a satellite of Louis XIV; Ezekiel Spanheim (1629–1710) was a Latin scholar, author of a *History of the Cæsars*, and a diplomat of the court of the Elector of Brandenburg; Melancthon (1497–1560), the friend of Luther, was the principal scholar of the Reformation. — Ed.

of *Hanetonic* Love *(Sodomy)* with intent to render 'em odious to the fair Sex. I had no occaſion to make any farther offers in juſtification of the *French*, for the Lady ſeem'd to be ſatisfied with what I ſaid. In fine, this Lady was ſo comely and agreeable in ſuch advanc'd Years, that if *Balzac* had ſeen her, he would not have offer'd to ſay that he never ſaw a handſome old Woman in his life-time.[1] Queſtionleſs, that *Gaſcogne Oracle* underſtood, by an old Woman, one of Seventy years of Age; for I have ſeen three or four that were perfect Beauties at Sixty, without ever a Wrinkle on their Faces, or a grey Hair on their Heads; and whoſe Eyes made ſtill a retreat for *Cupid.*

As ſoon as I arriv'd at *Amſterdam*, I hir'd the Roof of the *Night-Boat* for *Rotterdam;* which ſets out every day at three a Clock at both places, in order to convey Paſſengers to and again between theſe two Cities. It coſt me a Crown, which I did not grudge; for I had the conveniency of Sleeping very quietly all Night upon the Quilts that the Waterman is oblig'd to furniſh to all Paſſengers, who take the Stern-Room, call'd the Roof. The next day after my Arrival at *Rotterdam*, I took Shipping for *Antwerp* on Board of a *Hoy*, which is a Veſſel with flat Ribs, and Lee-boards or Wings. The paſſage from *Rotterdam* to *Antwerp* is both ſafe and eaſy, and runs between the *Terra Firma* and the *Dutch* Iſlands; being favour'd by the Tydes. From *Antwerp* to *Bruſſels* I made uſe of the

[1] Lahontan here refers to the litterateur Jean Louis Guez de Balzac (1597–1654), whose *Letters* and *Dissertations* did much to fix the forms of French prose. On his father's side he also was a Gascon, being descended from a good family of Languedoc. — Ed.

common Paſſage-Boat, which is only a great Boat drawn by a Horſe. At *Bruſſels* I was advis'd to Ride Poſt [253] to *Liſle;* becauſe the High-way-men us'd to Rob moſt of the Coaches and Waggons upon that Road. I comply'd with the Seaſonably Advice, and am now convinc'd that if I had not done ſo I had certainly been Rob'd. Two days after my arrival at *Liſle*, I took a place in the Coach which goes twice a Week to this good City of *Paris;* and arriv'd here laſt Week, after being ſufficiently Fleec'd by the Mercyleſs Inn-Keepers upon the Road. Theſe impoſing Dogs give as little quarter to a Traveller, that do's not bargain before hand for what he eats; as the Waiters of *Peronne* do to thoſe who indeavour to run Goods. At *Peronne*, you muſt know, they ſearch ſo narrowly, that they not only turn every thing out of a Cheſt or a Portmanteau, but examine every body from top to toe. They ſuſpect your Big-Belly'd Women moſt; and examine 'em ſo narrowly, that ſometimes they ſlide their Hand into a place that was appointed for ſomewhat elſe. If any Traveller has either *Snuſh*, *Tea*, *Indian Stuffs* or *Dutch* Books among his Baggage, the whole Cargo is Confiſcated.

Immediately upon my Arrival in this place, I repair'd to *Verſailles* to deliver Mr. *de Bonrepau*'s Letters: But the Perſons to whom they were addreſs'd, us'd their utmoſt Efforts to no purpoſe, in ſolliciting Mr. *de Ponchartrain* to allow me to juſtify my Conduct at *Placentia*. He anſwer'd 'em very coldly, that his Majeſty's ſtiff and inflexible Temper would never admit of any Juſtification from an Inferiour in oppoſition to his Superiour. This anſwer, which in ſome meaſure tarniſhes

the Shining Merit and Judicious Conduct of ſo Wiſe a Prince; gave me to know that the Severity of Mr. *de Ponchartrain* did not proceed ſo much from a Principle of Equity, as from a Stiff *Iroqueſe* Temper. In the mean time I [254] was like to die for Grief, nothwithſtanding that all my Friends endeavour'd to ſolace me, in adviſing me to raiſe my Mind above the Shocks of bad Fortune, till a change of Government happen'd. They did not ſcruple to counſel me to look out for ſome Refuge, where I might be ſhelter'd from the Fury of that Miniſter, ſo long as it pleaſes God to vouchſafe him the benefit of life, in order to allow him time to be Converted. *I delight not in the death of a Sinner, but would have him to be Converted*, &c. This Paſſage affords a fine Speculation, but I muſt own it has but little influence on one who is oblig'd to wait ſo long without any other relief than the Treaſure at the bottom of *Pandora*'s Box. Adieu, Sir; I am to ſet out immediately for my Province, where I ſhall only paſs thro' like Lightning. Not to trouble you with what's behind, I conclude with my plain Compliment, that

I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

[255] LETTER V.

* Near *Labontan* in *Baſſe Navarre.* Dated at * *Erleich, July*, 4. 1695.

Giving a View of the Superſtition and Ignorance of the People of Bearn; *their addictedneſs to the Notions of Witchcraft, Apparitions*, &c. *And the Author's Arguments againſt that Deluſion.*

SIR,

DOUBTLESS you'l be mightily ſurpriz'd when you hear I am now in ſight of a Country of which I retain no more than the bare Name; but your ſurprizal will be yet greater when you're inform'd that all the recommendations of Perſons of the firſt Quality about Court could not influence Mr. *de Ponchartrain*, whoſe Prepoſſeſſion againſt me is invincible. I left *Paris* with a melancholy Mind, and went to Solace my ſelf for ſome Months in a certain Province of the Kingdom that you will eaſily gueſs at. From thence I made a trip ſtreight to *Rochel*, where I went on board of a Veſſel that commonly carries Paſſengers to *Tremblade*. In that Paſſage I fell into the Company of a White Friar, the Hiſtory of whom is ſo very uncommon that I can't paſs him in ſilence.

He calls himſelf *Don Carlos Baltaſar de Mendoza*, and is the Son of a rich Gentleman at *Bruſſels*. He is about three and thirty or four and thirty Years of Age, and is at leaſt as tall and as meagre as I am. He ſerv'd the King of *Spain*

three or four Years in the quality of a Captain of [256] Horſe; and for as much as he ſtudy'd the purſuit of Sciences, more than the humouring of the Governour of the *Neitherlands*, his Catholick Majeſty refus'd him a Regiment that his Father offer'd to raiſe at his own Charge. This denial oblig'd him to quit the Service: and ſoon after, being preſs'd by his Parents to Marry, he went to *Germany* and put on a Monks Habit, which he threw away ſome time after. Thoſe who gave me an account of him, aſſur'd me that he had taken up and laid down the Habit ſeveral times. But whatever be in that matter, he is certainly one of the moſt Accompliſh'd Men of this Age. He is at once perfectly well acquainted with the fineſt Sciences, and with the principal Languages of *Europe*. This Character was given him by the greateſt Men in *Bourdeaux*, who pay'd him ſeveral Viſits that I was witneſs to, for we lodg'd together in that City. But the beſt of the Story is, that the next Day after our arrival two Merchants of his own Country paid him a round ſum of dry *Louiſd'ors*, part of which he beſtow'd upon the Soldiers in the *Trompet*-Caſtle, who would otherwiſe never have thought that an Eccleſiaſtick would be ſo Liberal to Perſons of a Military Capacity. All the Divines, Mathematicians and Philoſophers that viſited him, were ſo charm'd with the extent of his Knowledge, that they affirm'd that the quickeſt and ſharpeſt Man in the World could not acquire an equal ſtock of Learning in a courſe of ſixty Years Study. We ſtaid fifteen Days at *Bourdeaux*, and during that time he had the Curioſity to ſee nothing but a little Church in the Neighbourhood of his Lodgings, and the

Trompet-Caſtle. He Read and Wrote inceſſantly; and as for the Breviary I believe he had none about him, for he was neither Deacon nor Prieſt. I never could [257] learn what Order he was of; for when I ask'd him, his Anſwer was, *I am a White Monk, and nothing more.*

Both of us took Places in the *Bayonne* Coach (for the Friar was bound for *Spain;)* when we came to *Eſperon* we parted, and I took the *Dax* and *Bayonne* Road. I had no ſooner arrived at the Country Houſe where I now am, than I receiv'd an infinity of Viſits that I could eaſily have diſpens'd with; for within theſe four Days they have ſo fill'd my Head with Stories of Gardening, dreſſing of Vines, Hunting and Fiſhing, that I have ſcarce a ſufficient freedom of thought to diſpatch this Expreſs, and to acquaint you with the Affairs that oblige me to deſire an Interview with you. But that which troubled me moſt, was the impertinent Folly of our wiſer ſort of Country-men: For all of 'em, whether Prieſts, Gentlemen or Peaſants, do nothing but teaze me from Morning to Night with Stories of Wizards and Witches; and Inſtance particularly in you, as being the only Man in the World that has ſuſtain'd moſt harm from that ſort of Cattle; in fine, they ply me ſo hot with their Chimera's, that I'm affrai'd I ſhall turn Magician. The whimſical Souls aſſure me in good earneſt, that ſuch and ſuch a one is a Wizard; nay, ſome ſwear the ſame thing of themſelves, and others declare in Conſcience that they once were of that Society, but had afterwards quited the Devils Sabbath. I ask'd ſeveral of 'em the Charms of that Sabbath, and receiv'd this Anſwer, *That the Sabbath was a*

Palace accommodated with the beſt Wines, the niceſt Food, the handſomeſt Women, and the moſt agreeable Muſick in the World; That in this Palace they Drink, Eat and Dance, and do with the fine Ladies, what they might do elſewhere without being Wizards. In fine, I verily believe, that [258] Beaſts are not allow'd to be ſo Brutiſh as theſe Fools. Imagination can't reach their Folly; for 'tis as uſual here to call one another Wizard, as to uſe the compellation of a Friend elſewhere. Every body believes the Wizards are ſo numerous, that 'tis a Scandal for a Man not to paſs for one of the Gang; and ſo every one glories in the venerable Title of a Wizard or Conjurer.

Since I came to this place I am taken for an Atheiſt, becauſe I tire my ſelf in inculcating to the Prieſts and Gentlemen, that none but ſhallow Brains will entertain ſuch idle Whims. But that which throws me into Diſpair is the News that a Man of your Senſe ſhould gulp down ſuch monſtrous Flams, notwithſtanding all the Arguments that guard off ſuch an Opinion. Be it known to you, Sir, you muſt abſolutely deny the Omnipotence of God, if you eſtabliſh in this World, Sorcerers, Magicians, Soothſayers, Inchanters, Apparitions, Phantaſms, Familiars, Hobgoblins, and a viſible Devil that brings up the rear of all theſe Chimera's. To believe that God makes uſe of Wizards and Magicians to afflict Men, or blaſt the Product of the Earth, ſpeaks a want of Religion, Senſe and Wiſdom. None but *Europeans* are capable to credit ſuch Phantaſtical Stories. In this Country every body takes pleaſure in recounting his Viſions, and there's none but who has ſeen or heard

ſome Spirit or other in his Life-time. Few dive to the bottom of theſe popular Errors; and moſt People would ſcruple to believe that theſe Errors are the Inventions of Idolatrous and Chriſtian Prieſts. The World entertains too favourable an Opinion of the Clergy to charge 'em with that Crime; and if by chance one were found who being convinc'd of the Cheats of [259] the Prieſts makes the Oracles promote the ſpunging of Mens Pockets and Womens Thighs, an infinity of ignorant Souls would ſtill disbelieve him. Believe me, Sir, I confine my Diſcourſe to theſe Ancient Prieſts, that I may not give you Offence by reflecting on the Induſtry of the Modern; I have the Pope's Kettle too much in view to hinder it to Boil, for one Day it may come to be my laſt Refuge; and ſo I ought to hold my Peace. This Subject would require a clear and diſtinct Diſſertation, and perhaps I may preſent you with ſome ſuch thing one of theſe Days.

In the mean time be pleas'd to know that a * ſtrong Genius will never ſuffer it ſelf to believe the exiſtence of Sorcerers, *&c.* eſpecially conſidering that they are all as poor as Church Rats; for how can we imagine that theſe pretended Miſcreants ſhould have the Courage to truſt themſelves to a Maſter who is ſo far from diſcovering to 'em hidden Treaſures, and a thouſand other things in the Commerce of the World which might inrich 'em, that he ſuffers 'em to be Hang'd and Burnt? Prithee, how can

* *By a ſtrong Genius* (eſprit Fort) *I underſtand a Man that Fathoms the Nature of Things; that believes nothing but what is maturely weigh'd by his Reaſon; and without any regard to Prejudice makes wiſe Deciſions upon ſuch Heads as he has clearly canvaſs'd.*

we believe that God impowers theſe poor Wretches to raiſe Storms and overturn the Elements? 'Tis alledged that the Devil inveigles 'em by Promiſes, and makes Contracts with 'em under a private Seal; but from thence 'twould follow that God inveſted the Devil with a Power to ſeduce thoſe poor Mortals; which at the ſame time he could not do without Authorizing Lies. To pretend that God Arms the Enemy of [260] Mankind againſt Humane Creatures, is a downright inſulting of his Wiſdom. None but airy Fools can entertain the Wickedneſs of Sorcerers, the Cunning of Magicians, the Power of Conjurers, the Apparitions of Spirits, and the Soveraignty of the Devil, for Articles of Faith: For ſuch Thoughts are only harbour'd by Fools and Bigots. The Vulgar feed themſelves with ſuch Chimera's; and the Parſons that preach 'em up find their account in all Countries. Do but mind what I ſay, and you'l find I'm in the right of it. In former Times the Character of a Philoſopher or Mathematician was a ſufficient Qualification for a Sorcerer. The Savages believe that a Watch, a Compaſs, and a thouſand other Machines are moved by Spirits; for your ignorant and clowniſh People form extravagant Ideas of every thing that ſurpaſſes their Imagination. The *Laplanders* and the *Tartarian Kalmouks* ador'd Strangers for playing *Legerdemain* Tricks. The *Fire-eater* at *Paris* paſs'd a long while for a Magician. The *Portugueſe* burnt a Horſe that did wonderful things, and his Owner had enough to do to make his eſcape, becauſe they took him for a Conjurer. In *Aſia* the *Chymiſts* are look'd upon as Poyſoners. In *Africa* the Mathematicians bear the name of Wizards. In

America the Phyſicians are branded for Magicians; and in ſome parts of *Europe* thoſe who are well vers'd in the *Hebrew* Tongue are deem'd for *Jews*.

But to return to the Cunning Men of our Country; What reaſon have we to think that Men would bequeath their Souls for the imaginary *Sabbatic* Pleaſure of poyſoning Cattle, blaſting Corn with Storms and Hail, and raiſing ſuch boiſterous Winds as overturn Trees, and ſtrip the Earth of its Fruits. One would think theſe [261] Diſciples would rather ask Riches of him; for if the Devil is capable of turning the Elements topſy turvy, and interrupting the Courſe of Nature, why does not his Power extend to the pumping of Gold from the Mines of *Perou*, or engroſſing the Treaſures of *Europe*, in order to give Penſions to his Magical Votaries, who are as poor as Church Mice? I know you'l anſwer, *That pieces of Silver will turn into Oak-leaves in the Hands of the Devil:* But that Allegation ſinks his Power of working ſo many Miracles, and particularly that which he imparts to the Wizards. But ſuppoſing that he is not allow'd to work in Silver; might not ſo wiſe a Creature as he is repreſented to be, teach 'em the means to acquire it in the way of Commerce or Gaming? What ſhould hinder him to conduct 'em to hidden Treaſures, or to ſuch as are loſt in Shipwrack, or at leaſt to teach 'em the Secret that enabled the *Paſſetes* Magician to recal into his Pocket all the Money he ſpent? You'l meet with ſome who maintain, that the Devil us'd ſuch Methods long before the Deluge, to precipitate Men into a Magical Idolatry: But if you trace ſuch Doctors from Conſequence to Conſequence,

'twill follow that God was guilty of a flaming piece of Malice, which cannot be. I would not have you to be ſurpriz'd in finding that I deny Magicians as well as Sorcerers or Wizards; for if we allow of the one, the other muſt be acknowledg'd in Courſe. All the World takes *Agrippa* for the Prince of Magicians; but at the ſame time he was no more ſuch than you. His Magick lay here.[1] Being one of the greateſt Philoſophers of his Age, and having given proof of his Knowledge before the Mob of *Lions*, the Women were ſo charm'd with it, that almoſt all of 'em employ'd him to cuckold their [262] Husbands, and at the ſame time ſome Rival Monks who pretended to deſcribe the Devil's Art, plac'd him at the Head of the five Popes, that *Berno* the Schiſmatick Cardinal had the Inſolence to brand for Magicians. But *Agrippa*'s Book made the ſame Impreſſion upon the Minds of Fools with the Conjuring Book and *Heptameron* of *Appono*. All theſe Chimera's ſpring from the impertinent Writers of Conjuring, who have fill'd the World with their Illuſions, either thro' Malice or Ignorance. I can't look upon the Books of *John Nider de Vujer*, of *Niger*, *Sprenger*, *Platina*, *Toſtat*, and the two Jeſuits *Delrio* and *Maldonat*, without curſing 'em for ever; for they advance Poſitions ſo contrary to Reaſon, and inconſiſtent with the Wiſdom of God, that all Chriſtian Princes would do well to call in all ſuch Books and have 'em burn'd by the Hand of the publick Executioner,

[1] Cornelius Agrippa, of Nettesheim, who attempted in the fourteenth century to mitigate the horrors of witchcraft superstition, and defended an accused witch. Lahontan refers to his book, *Occulta Philosophia*. — Ed.

without ſpairing *Bodinus*'s *Demonomania*, the *Mallet of Sorcerers*, and the *Seven Trumpets*.[1] What reaſon have we to believe that *Eric* King of the *Goths* was ſirnam'd *Windy Hat*, becauſe he becken'd to the Winds with his Hat, and made 'em ſhift as he pleas'd; That *Paracelſus* had an Army of Devils under his Command; that *Santaberenus* ſhew'd to *Baſil* the Emperor his Son alive after his Death; That *Michael* the *Scot* foretold the Death of the Emperor *Frederic* II. That *Pythagoras* kill'd a Serpent in *Italy* by Vertue of ſome Magical Words? And yet theſe Authors vent a thouſand Lies of that nature for unconteſted Truths: But what *Gervais* ſays of *Virgil*'s Braſs Fly Crowns the whole Work. 'Tis a Miracle to me that the Chancellor of the Emperor *Otho* ſhould have thus expos'd himſelf in advancing a Falſhood accompany'd with many other Lies. From hence we may learn, the Dignity of a Chancellor has not the vertue to entail [263] Wiſdom upon the Fools that brook it. Is it not commonly given out that the Devil run away with Preſident *Pichon?* Who has not heard of Marſhal *Luxemburg*'s Compact with the Devil? And does not the World blindly believe that the poor Curate of *Loudun*,

[1] Lahontan here cites a group of authors on the subject of magic. Nider, an inquisitor of the fourteenth century, published the *Formicarius*, a treatise on heresy. Sprenger, a German inquisitor, was the author of the manual *Malleus Maleficarium* (Mallet of Sorcerers), which was "the most portentous monument of superstition the world has produced." Platina, the learned author of *Vitæ Pontificium* (Lives of the Popes), relates many tales of witchcraft. Tostatus was a Spanish theologian of the fifteenth century, and Delrio, a Jesuit, whose *Disquisitiones Magicæ* went through frequent editions in the seventeenth century. Jean Bodin's *Demonomanie des Sorciers* was a compilation on witchcraft. For the entire subject consult Lea, *History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1888); White, *History of Warfare of Science with Theology* (New York, 1896). — Ed.

who was burnt by the Tyranny of Cardinal *Richelieu*, without any other Crime than that of incurring his Diſpleaſure; Does not every one believe, I ſay, that this poor Curate rais'd a hundred young Devils out of Hell to poſſeſs the Bodies of the Nuns of *Loudun?* What impertinent and childiſh Stories does *John Schefer* offer in his Hiſtory of *Lapland?* Is not it very ſtrange that the People ſhould be allow'd to read ſuch Books? Are not ſome ſo fooliſh as to credit theſe Chimera's as Articles of Faith? And is it poſſible for you to diſabuſe 'em, or to perſwade 'em that no Man can cure Wounds by the ſpeaking of a few Words, or that the Men who deal in Characters do not perform all ſorts of Miracles by vertue of certain Phials, Garters, *&c.?* No truly, Sir, you would never compaſs your end if you offer'd to teach 'em a Doctrine contrary to theſe receiv'd Opinions; they would hang you for a Heretick, or at leaſt take you for a Magician that by ſuch a cunning fetch mean'd to ſcreen the whole Magical Fraternity from Proſecution.

Believe me, Sir, all that I now write is poſitively true. The Devil has not the Power to appear viſibly before our Eyes, and by conſequence he can't engage us in his Intereſts by a Magical or Witchcraft Contract. Such a Suppoſition is inconſiſtent with the Goodneſs of God, who does not lay Snares for Men that are already apt to go aſtray. You ſee I do not deny the Exiſtence of the Devil; for I believe he is in Hell: But I deny that he ever remov'd from [264] the Regions below, to do miſchief upon the Earth. As for the Paſſages of *Scripture*, which you may take for an Objection, I

anſwer; That if all the Places of *Scripture* were to be underſtood in a Literal Senſe, God would be ſuppos'd to have Hands and Feet, and the *Holy Ghoſt* to talk like an *Iroqueſe*. You muſt know, that before the coming of the *Meſſias*, Dæmons were the tutelar and benign Gods; and the Word δαιμοὺνιον ſignifies nothing elſe but Good Genius; but the *Evangeliſts* have ſtamp'd upon them an Infernal Character, by adding the Epithet, Κακο, *i. e.* Evil: And for that Reaſon the good Devils have been ever ſince reputed Evil Spirits, according to the Literal Senſe. Sir, you may perceive, I only inſiſt againſt the Exiſtence of Sorcerers, Magicians, Inchanters, *&c.* which I am the more encourag'd to do, upon the Conſideration, that the Interpreters of Holy Writ have given 'em Titles of *Aſtronomers*, *Chiromancers*, *Aſtrologers*, *&c.* and in giving the Explication of theſe ſynonimous Words, never alledg'd, that they were the Devil's Scholars.

This Subject would require a large Diſſertation; for 'tis truly a very nice Point, which I only pretend to glance upon by the Bye, without ſpending more time in juſtifying the Arraigned Criminals from the guilt of an Imaginary Crime, that 'tis impoſſible for them to put in execution. Believe me, Sir, the Magicians are Rogues that cut a Purſe dexterouſly and unhinge a Door nimbly: Your Apparitions, Phantomes, Hobgoblins and Spirits are Raſcally Varlets, that in the Night time ſteal Corn and Fruit, and kiſs not only the Servant-Maids, but ſometimes their Maſters Wives: Your Inchanters are roving Fellows, and Lovers by Trade, who inveigle poor Girls under a Promiſe of Marriage. Your [265] Soothſayers

are the Cunning Eccleſiaſticks, who knowing the *Foible* of ſome Rich men, extort pious Legacies from 'em, with their wonted Dexterity. The Sorcerers are thoſe Falſe Coiners, who abound ſo much in our Country, and the Clippers, who pare the Piaſtres and the *Spaniſh* Piſtoles ſo cleverly; for theſe Sabbatic Works are always performed in the Night-time, and in the obſcureſt Places. All this I offer for your information; and ſo ſhall leave you to believe what you pleaſe.

I know the *Bearneſe* are too much inclined to Superſtition, and owe their Byas to the Ancient Members of their * Parliament, who by a ſtretch of Cruelty beyond that of *Nero*, burnt ſo many Innocent Wretches. If theſe Bigotted Counſellers are now in Paradiſe, moſt certainly neither you nor I will ever be ſent to Hell: Believe me, Sir, the Man that's capable of giving credit to the *Chimæra's* I now ſpeak of, will not ſtand to ſwallow a thouſand other Fables that your Men of Senſe make a Jeſt of. I do not pretend to undeceive the Ignorant Vulgar, for I know 'tis impoſſible; 'tis you only that I want to inſtruct; for I'm told, you declare, that all the Cats in the Province have the honour to be animated by the Souls of the Ancient Wizards, whoſe Aſhes have ſerv'd for Lye to the Waſher-women of *Pau* theſe many Years. Our Salvation does not depend upon the belief of that Article, for I'm ſure 'tis no Article of Faith. Some People are very ingenious in frightning themſelves, by conceiving that the Devil transforms himſelf into a Maſtiff, a Sorcerer into a Cat, and a Magician into a Wolf; that a Soul

* *Held at* Pau, the *Capital of the Province of* Bearn.

retaining to Purgatory, aſſumes all ſorts of Shapes, in order to beg Prayers [266] of the Living, who have enough to do to pray for themſelves. After theſe Crotchets are once lodg'd in a Man's Brains, he's afraid to lie alone, and the noiſe of a Rat freezes the Blood in his Veins; for a frighted Imagination trembles at the Apprehenſion of its own *Chimæra's;* and beſides the Injury done to himſelf, he does harm to others, by recounting his Impertinent and Rediculous Adventures: His Stories meet with a ready reception, from the weak and ſimple ſort of People, and have ſuch a ſcaring influence upon the Women, that they are forc'd in their Huſbands abſence to get ſome body to lie with 'em, that has the reſolution to oppoſe the Sorcerers, Magicians, Apparitions, *&c.* A Young Girl dares not empty a Tub of Water, unleſs a ſturdy Footman accompanies her with a Link in his Hand. In fine, this Doctrine of Sprights is the ſource of a thouſand Inconveniencies, which afford an opportunity to Robbers, Whoremaſters and Profligate Fellows to compaſs their Ends.

As for my part, I ſolemnly declare, in all the Countries I have been in, I never ſaw or heard any thing ſupernatural in the Night-time: I have us'd my Efforts to ſee or hear ſome News from the other World; I have croſs'd *Quebec* Churchyard above a hundred times at Mid-night, in my way to the Lower City, but never met with any thing. But ſuppoſe I had *had* ſome Phantome in my view (pardon the Suppoſition) what d'ye think I would have done? Why, I would e'en have walk'd on very ſedately with my naked Sword over my Arm, if the Spright ſeem'd to be on one ſide of me; and if it had

been poſted before me juſt in my way, I would have asked it very civilly, to give me leave to paſs by. You'll reply, perhaps, that Swords and Piſtols are uſeleſs in ſuch caſes, and that I own to be true; but [267] then you muſt conſider, that if it had been a Spright, a Shadow and Vapour could not wound me no more than I could wound it; and if it had been ſome Living Thing of a Monſtrous Figure, my Arms would have ſerv'd to puniſh the Inſolent Impoſtor. Do but obſerve, Sir, that in all the Stories of Apparitions, Sprights, Fantoms, Hobgoblins, *&c.* we never hear of the killing or wounding of any body. Now, if theſe pretended Infernal Ambaſſadors have ſuch tender Hands, why ſhould we fear 'em more than the Lightning that uſhers in a Clap of Thunder? In fine, a Wiſe Man ought not to dread any thing but that which can annoy him either directly, or indirectly.

You'll object, perhaps, that a Soldier, who has ſignaliz'd his Courage and Bravery on ſeveral occaſions, has been known to tremble, grow pale, and ſweat for fear, upon the ſeeing or hearing of a String of Living Fantoms, that pretended to divert themſelves at his Coſt. I acknowledge that ſuch a thing may happen, but it proceeds from this; that ſuch people have entertain'd a Notion of Viſions from their Infancy, without giving themſelves the trouble to enquire into the poſſibility of their Exiſtence. In a word, they have believ'd what other Bigots believe of the Power of the Devil. Such men fear nothing but their own Imagination. But I have done; time runs, and I am oblig'd to go about a little Buſineſs immediately: I wiſh I may meet with no Pettyfogger in my

way, for that Cattel is not ſo eaſy to deal with as Wizards and Phantoms.

I deſire an interview at *Ortez:* The Papers I now ſend along with this Letter, will inform you of the Buſineſs I want to diſcourſe. The Country I am now in is a very good Country, [268] but I do not find Mony ſtirring among us, which in my troth I do not like, for among the *Europeans* one can't live without Money, as they do among the *Hurons* of *Canada.* I always think of that Countrey with regret, when my Pocket is at low water, and my Mind diſquieted with Care and Anxiety, in contriving how to fill it with that precious Metal, that gives life and ſpirit to the ſorrieſt ſort of Men, and inſpires 'em with all Good Qualities.

I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LETTER VI.

Dated at *Hueſca*, *July* 11. 1695.

Containing an Account of the Author's wonderful Eſcape; his being taken up for a Huguenot, *and examin'd by the Ignorant Curates.*

I'VE 'ſcap'd for once, but 'twas a very narrow Eſcape, as you may gueſs by the Story of my Flight, which was in ſhort thus. I was upon the point of meeting you according to agreement at *Ortez*, and for that Reaſon had been at *Dax* to receive ſome Papers which ſeem'd to be of uſe to me; when by a matchleſs piece of Good Luck, [269] I met with a Letter from a certain perſon at *Verſailles*. I had no ſooner read my Letter, than I march'd ſtraight to my Lodging, to contrive within my ſelf ſome way to get ſafe out of the Kingdom. You may be ſure my Council was ſoon aſſembled, for ſuch a Head-piece as mine does not uſe to ſpend much time in Conſultations. I determined to delude my Landlord, by deſiring him to give me an Account in Writing of the Road to *Agen*, where I pretended to have ſome Buſineſs. The beſt of the matter is, that I had already got of my Farmers near two hundred Piſtoles, and a fine Horſe, which I was oblig'd to for my lucky deliverance. I got up by the break of day, and deſir'd a Guide to conduct me out of one of the Gates of the City, that leads a quite different way from that I had in my Eye.

As ſoon as I got out of Town, I took the Road of *Ortez*, and avoiding all Villages, ſteer'd upon Heaths, Fields, Vineyards and Woods, following all By-paths, and lodging in the remoteſt Houſes; I had no other Guide but the Sun, and the ſight of the *Pyrenees*, and ask'd every one I met upon the Road, which was the way to *Pau*. But not to detain you too long with the Particulars of my Journey, you muſt know, I arrived at laſt at *Laruns*, the laſt Village of *Bearn*, ſcituated as you know, in the Valley of *Ozao*. I had ſcarce entred this ſooliſh Village, when a Company of Peaſants ſurrounded me on all ſides: Judge you if I had not reaſon to fear that the Grand Provoſt was not far behind; but I was miſtaken, for the Raſcals ſtop'd me for no other Reaſon, but becauſe they fancied there was ſomewhat in my Countenance that looked like *Huguenotiſm;* they gave me leave however to alight at a Tavern, which was ſo dark and full of Smoak, that you would have took't [270] for the Antichamber to Hell; and here, you muſt know the Parſon was to come to examine me in Matters of Religion; and that in a Country where the Prieſts underſtand as little what they believe as their Pariſhioners: For after I had anſwer'd him upon all the Points he thought fit to mention, he ſwore I was a *Huguenot;* and upon this, Sir, I was like to have loſt all patience. But conſidering I had Beaſts to deal with, I thought my beſt way was to uſe 'em as Beaſts; ſo I offer'd to ſatisfie 'em by reciting the *Litany*, and the *Sunday Veſpers*, but this Stratagem fail'd me, for they ſtill continued obſtinate, in propoſing to carry me to *Pau*. Judge what a perplexity I was in, when the Infamous Rabble ſaid,

The Pſalms *and the* Litanies *were the firſt Prayers the* Huguenots *learn'd to cover their Deſign of getting out of the Kingdom.* It ſignify'd nought to tell 'em, I was Maſter of the Horſe to *Monſieur L' Abbee d' Eſtrees*, and that I was going to that Ambaſſador in *Portugal;* that was *Clamare in deſerto.* 'Twas to as little purpoſe to threaten to ſend immediately to the Intendant at *Pau*, to demand Juſtice for the Affront, and for my being ſtopt: All this did not move 'em. At laſt, after a melancholly Reflection on the danger I was in, I reſolv'd to try all ways to delude theſe Ignorant Creatures; though this was no eaſy task, for they are wholly govern'd by their Doctors. And here I think I ought to pray to God to bleſs the firſt Inventer of Snuff, for after I had fretted my ſelf two or three Hours in talking to theſe Varlets, I accidentally pull'd out my Snuff-box, without thinking of it, and as ſoon as I open'd it, one of the moſt Civiliz'd Men of the Company deſir'd to ſee the Picture on the Inſide, which repreſented a Court-Lady upon a Couch, all naked, with her Hair hanging looſe. As ſoon as he [271] had looked upon it, he ſhow'd it to the reſt, who ſaid to one another in their *Bernoiſe* Language, That it was a *Mary Magdalene.* At this Lucky Word, I rouz'd my Spirits, when all on a ſudden the Parſon ask'd me, What the Meaning of the Picture was? I made anſwer, *'Twas a Saint that would take Vengeance of them for an Affront offer'd to one of her Devouteſt Worſhippers:* And ſo fixing my Eyes upon the Naked Figure, I made a Prayer to that Saint with an Elogy; in which I attributed more Miracles to her than to all the Saints in Paradiſe. This, together with the

Exclamations I made, did ſo blind the Company, that they all kiſs'd the Head of the Pretended Saint with a wonderful Zeal, and from that time I was no *Huguenot*, for I ſtill continued to invoke the Saint that in *Bearn* is known to be a worker of Miracles, with the ſame fury and diſpoſition that I then feign'd. Every one ſtrove to get my Prayers down in Writing, and all the Peaſants now were at Emulation one with another who ſhould guide me over the Mountains, or who ſhould furniſh me with Mules. Such, Sir, is the diverting Hiſtory of the ſtrange Effects of Snuff: If it is of uſe to others, to hammer out an Argument by gaining the time which is ſpent in conveying it from the Fingers to the Noſe, 'twas of great uſe to me another way, without ſo much as expecting it. What a Misfortune it is for an Honeſt Man to be under a Neceſſity of prophaning the Saints for the preſervation of his Life! 'Tis true, my Meaning was good, and I have asked Pardon of God for it. This ſhews that a well manag'd Lye can produce among Ignorant People even ſuch Effects as the Naked Truth cannot compaſs. What pity is it that a Parſon ſhould not ſo much as underſtand his *Catechiſm*, and at the ſame time [272] ſwallow down Idle Stories for Miracles! But this is the Biſhop's Buſineſs, not mine.

And indeed our Biſhops are much like our Officers, who are prefer'd more by Favour and Intereſt than by Merit. The greateſt part of them are more induſtrious to pleaſe their Sovereign than their God. But a man had as good pretend to drink the Ocean dry, as to attempt a Reformation of theſe Abuſes.

To continue the Thread of my Adventure, you muſt know, I hired two Mules, one for my Guide, another for my ſelf. My Horſe was ſo tired with ſtrugling to ſave me, that Gratitude obliged me to uſe him with all manner of civility and mildneſs; for 'twas no more than what he deſerved by his fatiguing Services. In the mean time the Night, which ſeem'd as long to me as an Age, (ſo much I dreaded the Provoſt's Crew) gave me more leiſure than enough to beg pardon of God for the Contrivance by which I ſaved my ſelf, in making uſe of the Names of his Saints. In this Condition I was continually peeping at the Window to look for the dawning of the Day, but this Village is ſo ſhut up among the *Pyrenees*, that 'tis a hard matter to diſcern the Sun in his Meridian, or the tenth part of the Arch of the Heavens. At laſt wearied with that uneaſineſs, and quite ſpent with the Fatigues both of Body and Mind, I tried to indulge Nature with one Hours ſleep as a recompence for three Days waking, when all on a ſudden I was alarm'd with a great Noiſe of Men and Horſes at the Inn-Gate; the Knocks they gave, and their ſtrange Hollowing, freez'd all the Blood in my Veins, for I thought all the Conſtables in the Kingdom were upon my Back; but my Fears prov'd abortive, for it was only ſome Muliteers going to traffick in *Spain*. [273] By this time Day-light appear'd, and my Guide called upon me, upon which we ſet out, and join'd in with theſe Travellers: That Day we went as far as *Sallent*, the firſt Town in *Spain*, ſeven Leagues diſtant from *Laruns;* having paſs'd a Houſe which the *Spaniards* call *Aigues Caudes*, that is, the Hot-waters, or

a Bath which cures a world of Diſeaſes. When we were got to *Sallent*, they ſhewed us to an Inn, ſo dark, that it ſeem'd fitter for a Vault to lodge Dead-Carcaſes in, than to entertain Paſſengers; my Spirits were then ſo exhauſted for want of reſt, that I fell aſleep immediately, and ſlept ſtanding in a manner; the Beds looking like a Magazine of Lice, I made them ſpread me ſome Straw upon the Boards, where I laid my ſelf down, after having order'd my Guide to provide for himſelf what Cheer he lik'd beſt, upon the Proviſo that he ſhould not wake me. I ſlept in this Poſture from Nine a Clock at Night till Noon next Day without waking; after which we ſpent the reſt of the Day in finding out a ſorry Meal of Meat: The next Day after we put on very ſmartly, and came to an Inn where we found good ſtore of Fouls and Pigeons, and upon theſe we made repriſals for our former Ill Fare. In ſhort, we arriv'd laſt Night at this City, which ſtands upon a flat low Ground, at the diſtance of Two Leagues from the Mountains. All I can tell you of the Country, is; That from *Laruns* to this Place, we have two and twenty Leagues diſtance; and upon that Road we do nothing but climb up and deſcend narrow Paths, upon which, if the Mule did but ſtumble, there's an unavoidable neceſſity of tumbling down a Diſmal Precipice. My Guide [274] told me, That the Road through the Valley of *Aſpe*, is the pleaſanteſt, ſhorteſt and moſt convenient; but the way which leads by St. *John de Pied de Port* has this advantage, that there's only Eight Leagues of Mountains between *Roncevaux* and the Plains of *Navarre*. Upon the whole, I wonder much that *Hercules* did not ſplit theſe

Mountains for the Accommodation of Travellers, as well as thoſe of *Calpe* and *Abila* for the Conveniency of Sailers. I ſet out to morrow by the break of Day, in order to reach *Saragoza* at Night.

I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

LETTER VII.

Dated at *Saragoza*, Octob. 8. 1695.

Containing a Deſcription of Saragoza; *a View of the Government of* Arragon, *and an account of the Cuſtoms of the People.*

SIR,

I HAVE been three Months in this good Town of *Saragoza*, during which time, I've receiv'd ſeven or eight Letters, charging me with Careleſſneſs in not ſatisfying your Curioſity: But the fault lies at your own Door and not at mine; [275] for if you had not been ſo negligent as to delay the ſending of what I receiv'd this very day, my Pen had not trac'd the uneaſyneſs of my Mind, inſtead of purſuing the following Relation.

Saragoza is the Capital City of the Kingdom of *Arragon:* And I can't tell whether I ought to call it only *pretty*, or *very pretty*. However, I'm ſure 'tis a very great City; the Streets are broad and well pav'd; the Houſes are for the moſt part three Story high, tho' ſome of 'em have five or ſix; and all of 'em are Built after the old Faſhion. The Market and publick Places are not worth ſpeaking of. In the City there are a great many Convents, which are generally very pretty; as well as their Gardens and Churches. The Cathedral Church call'd *La Ceu* is a huge and very Stately Edifice. The Church of

Nueſtra Seniora de l' Pilar is but very ordinary as to its Architecture. The Chappel indeed where that *Seniora* ſtands is Curious, upon the account that 'tis under Ground. The *Spaniards* pretend that the Subſtance of which 'tis Built is unknown to all Mankind; but if 'twere not for their aſſertion, I ſhould have took it for *Walnut-Tree.* This Chappel is thirty ſix Foot long, and twenty ſix Foot broad. 'Tis fill'd with Lamps, Baniſters and Silver Candle-Sticks; and beſides a great Altar, contains a great quantity of Feet, Hands, Hearts and Heads, which the Miracles of that *Virgin* drew to the Sacred Place: For you know the *Virgin* Works Miracles every day that ſurpaſs imagination. But the moſt ſolid thing about her, is an infinity of precious Stones of ineſtimable value, with which her Gown, Crown and Niche are Garniſh'd. Beſides theſe, there are two Churches here which were Built by the *Goths*, and are both Strong and Beautiful; having very pretty Vaults, which ſhew [276] that *that* People were perfectly well acquainted with *Stereometry.*

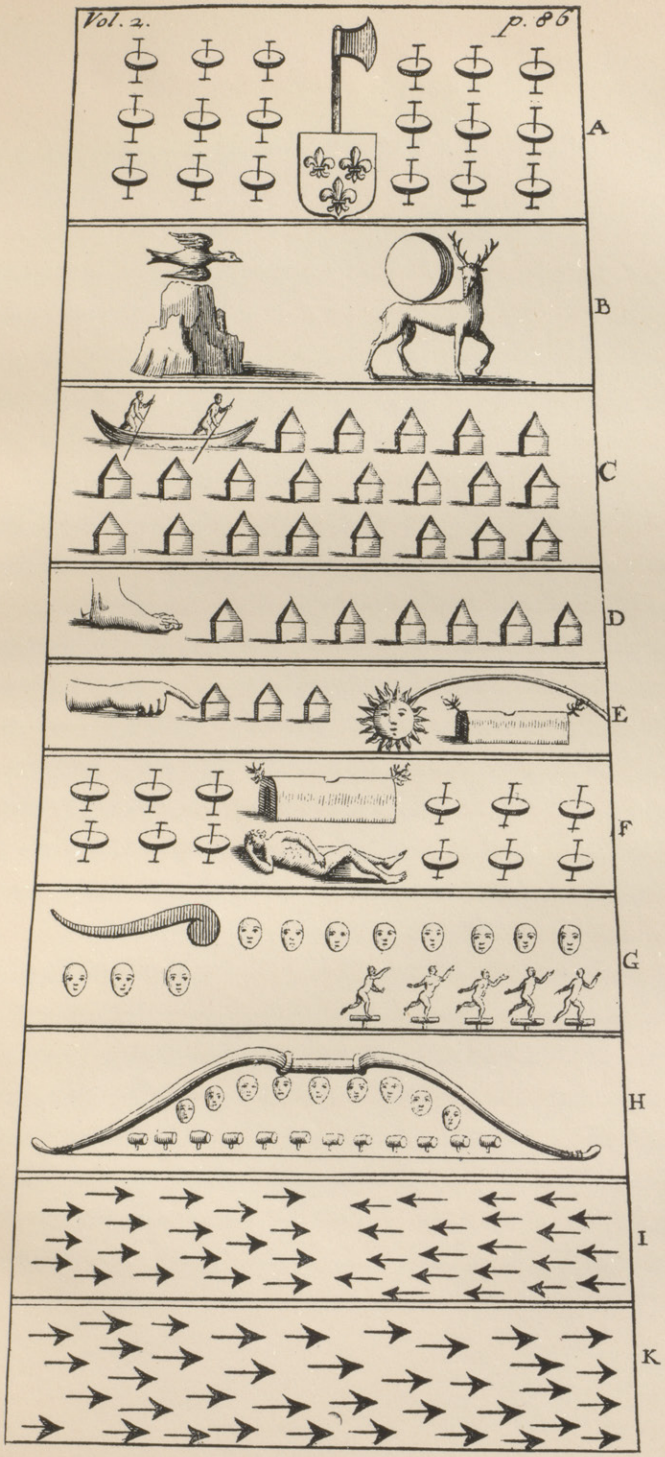
Saragoza is Seated on the River *Ebro*, which is as broad as the *Seyne* at *Paris.* It ſtands upon ſmooth level Ground, and incompaſs'd with a Wall that's Ruinous in ſeveral places. The People of *Arragon* put a mighty value upon a Stone-Bridge that's over that River; becauſe they never ſaw many better: But they have more reaſon to value the Wooden-Bridge that lyes a little lower, for indeed 'tis one of the fineſt in *Europe.* This City affords *Academies* for the exerciſe both of the Body and the Mind; and above all, a fine *Univerſity* that may be call'd the beſt in *Spain* next to *Salamanca* and *Alcala des He-*

nares. The *Students* are generally Cloath'd like *Prieſts*, that is, with a long Cloak.

The Duke *de Jovenazo* is Viceroy of this Kingdom; and as I take it, that triennial Dignity is more Honourable than Beneficial, for it does not bring in above ſix thouſand Crowns a Year. The Arch-Biſhoprick is worth twenty thouſand Crowns; but the preſent Arch-Biſhop being a very good Man, diſtributes one third of his Revenue among the Poor. Tho' his Birth was obſcure, yet he was *Preſident* of one of the Councils of *Spain*, which perhaps occaſion'd that natural Antipathy to the *French*, that he ſhews upon all occaſions. The Canons of his Cathedral and thoſe of *Notre dame de Pilier*, make a hundred Crowns a Month of their Canonſhips. The Miniſter call'd * *Ell juſticia*, receives Appeals from all the Courts of *Arragon*. 'Tis from his Hands that the Kings of *Spain* receive a drawn Sword, when they take the Oath to maintain the Privileges of the Kingdom, upon their Acceſſion to the [277] Throne. This Ceremony is perform'd in the *Deputation-Houſe*, which indeed is a wonderful Edifice. The *Salmedina* is a ſort of Lieutenant-General, both Civil and Military. This Office, which bears both the Gown and the Sword, is Triennial as well as that of his Deputy. The † *Audiencia* conſiſts of ſeveral Counſellours, who are as nice a ſort of Men as our own. Beſides theſe, there are five Sheriffs or *Jurates*, who hold their troubleſome Poſts but two years, and are properly the Civil Judges that take care of the Government of the City. In fine, I ſhould never

* *His place is much like that of a* Chancellour.

† *Parliament.*


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have done, if I offer'd to give a particular Liſt of all the Offices in this Kingdom.

Bread, Wine, Fowl, Partridges and Hares are very cheap in this place; but Butchers Meat is very dear, and good Fiſh is a rarity. The Strangers that Travel this way, are oblig'd to Lodge in certain Inns call'd by the *Spaniards*, *Meſon;* in which the Inn-Keeper furniſhes nothing to his Gueſts but a Chamber, a Bed, a Stable, || Straw and Barley. 'Tis true, the Servants buy what you pleaſe for you, and dreſs it as you order 'em, provided you require nothing but plain Boiling and Roſting. The *Arragon* Wines are ſweet and ſtrong, eſpecially the Black ſort, for the White is neither ſo ſtrong nor ſo ſweet. In the Summer time they have no other Diverſion but Walking, and that towards the Evening, when the Gentlemen walk out of Town, as well as the Ladies, apart: But 'tis not the freſh Air ſo much as the warm breathing that they have in view. In Winter, they are entertain'd with Plays, which the *Prieſts* and *Friars* frequent without any Scruple. Every Night there's an Aſſembly or Meeting at the Houſe of the Duke [278] of *Jovenazo*, where they Game, and Diſcourſe and drink Chocolate or other Liquors: And the Perſons of the firſt Rank are almoſt always there. They are honeſt and affable to the laſt degree. As for my own part, I have receiv'd very ſenſible Marks of their Friendſhip, particularly that of being regal'd in their Houſes; which diſcovers to me that they are not ſo unſociable as they are repreſented to be. 'Tis true, that in publick the Smile never

|| *There's nether Hay nor Corn in Spain.*

unfurles their Brow, and no familiarity of Joy can oblige 'em to relent in their affected Gravity: But in private Converſation they are the heartieſt People in the World; I mean, they are the briskeſt and merryeſt Companions that can be.

Almoſt all the People of *Arragon* are as lean as I am, and ſo, Sir, you may eaſily judge what a ſort of Meen they have. They allege for the cauſe of their Leanneſs, that their Tranſpiration is great, that they Eat and Sleep but little, that their Paſſions are ſprightly and violent; and in fine, that they diſſipate their Spirits by exerciſes which the *French* do not follow ſo often. Their Complexion is as pale as mine; which perhaps is owing to theſe very exerciſes; at leaſtwiſe, 'tis *Ovid*'s Opinion in ſaying [*Palleat ommis amor; Color hic eſt aptus amanti.*] Their Stature goes ſomewhat beyond the middling Standard. Their Hair is of a dark Cheſnut colour, and their Complexion is as fair as that of the *Bearneſe*.

All I have ſaid of the People of *Arragon*, may be apply'd in particular to the Women as well as the Men; tho' indeed the former are not quite ſo lean as the latter. They can't be call'd handſome, but at the ſame time one can't avoid owning that they are agreeable and lovely. If Nature has been ſtingy and penurious in Forming their Throat and Fore-Head, ſhe has been prodigal [276, *i. e.* 279] of her Gifts in giving 'em great ſparkling Eyes, ſo full of Fire that they burn without mercy from top to toe all that approach to 'em. They are very much oblig'd to *Theano*, *Pythagoras*'s Wife, for teaching 'em that their Sex was Born for no other end than for the agreeable Trade of loving and being lov'd. This ſoft Moral

ſuits their Complexion perfectly well; and accordingly they practiſe it to a Miracle: For in the Morning they run to Church, with intent to purchaſe Hearts rather than Paradiſe; and Dinner is no ſooner over, than they go to Viſit their She-Friends, who do mutual Services to one another in the way of Intrigue, by favouring the entry of their Lovers into one another's Houſes, and that with a great deal of artifice and cunning. Contrivance is all in all in this Country; for the vertue of the Women lies in playing their Cards handſomely and dextrouſly, diſguiſing the Intrigue, more than elſewhere. Their Husbands are plaguy Sharp-ſighted, and if their Intrigues take but the leaſt Air, they run the riſque of taking a Journey to the other World, unleſs they flie to a Convent. 'Tis not above a Month and a half ſince I ſaw a Girl Stabb'd by her own Brother at Church, at the very foot of the Altar, for having entertain'd an amorous Correſpondence. He had made a Journey from *Madrid* on purpoſe to do this mighty Exploit; for which he was Puniſh'd with two Months Impriſonment.

There has not been above eighteen or twenty deſign'd Murders and Aſſaſſinations committed ſince I came hither; by reaſon that the Nights are as yet too ſhort: But I am told that in Winter there never paſſes a Night without two or three ſuch inſtances. 'Tis true, 'tis only the poor miſerable Wretches of two Pariſhes in the City, who inſult [280] one another at that rate; and are drove to that extremity by Feuds of ancient ſtanding. The frequency of ſuch diſorders is owing to this, that a Man can't be condemn'd to die without great Evidence upon the matter, and that the Condemn'd Criminals

make uſe of the privileges of the Kingdom, to put off the Execution from Term to Term: By which means they get off at laſt for being turn'd over to the Galleys, which there are a thouſand ways to get clear of: So that unleſs the Judge is Sollicited againſt them by a ſtrong Party, they always 'ſcape the Gallows.

As for Robbing in the Streets, they know nothing of it; and the Murders that happen have no relation to any intention of that Nature. I have frequently Walk'd home all alone at Midnight from the *Viceroy*'s Houſe, without meeting with any affront. 'Tis true, I diſcontinued that practice after the Perſons of Quality advis'd me to go always in Company, leſt the Aſſaſſins ſhould miſtake me for another. However, Perſons of Note or Character have nothing to fear, unleſs they be imbarqu'd in ſome Amorous Intrigue; then indeed they run the riſque of being Stabb'd in the Streets at Noon: So that a Man muſt either have his Wits about him, or elſe have recourſe to common Whores, if he means to avoid ſuch a fatal Exit. Now of theſe two Expedients the firſt is the beſt, becauſe it preſerves at once his Pocket and his Health.

The Nobility of *Arragon* is tolerably Rich; but they might be Richer if the Peaſants of *Arragon* Work'd as hard as *ours* do. Theſe idle Fellows imploy the † *Gavachos* (with whom *Spain* is plagued) to Manure their Grounds, and to Sow and Reap. The Vulgar People [281] are of the Opinion that *France* is the worſt Country in the World, becauſe the *French* exchange it

† *An Epithet they give to the* French, *which at the bottom ſignifies nothing at all.*

for theirs: And indeed 'tis true, that the Labourers, the Reapers, the Fellers of Wood, and all ſorts of Tradeſmen, without mentioning the Coach-men, Foot-men and Water-bearers, come for the moſt part from *Bearn*, *Languedock*, and *Auvergne*. Here we meet with ſome *Bearn* Merchants who have inrich'd themſelves by Trading to *France:* For notwithſtanding the War, an open Commerce is ſtill maintain'd. If the People of *Arragon* had their Wits about 'em, and had a mind to inrich their Country, they might eaſily compaſs their end.

The River of *Ebro* is Navigable from *Tortoza* to *Miranda d' Ebro*, by great flat bottom'd Boats, ſuch as we have in the *Seyne*. A great many Perſons who have come down the *Ebro*, have aſſur'd me that 'tis three Foot deep in the Shalloweſt places, and that its Current is very gentle: So that the only difficulty lies in finding a Road upon the Banks of the River, in order to drag up the Boats when they want to ſtem the Stream. The *French* bring hither a great many Mules and little Nags, upon which they gain *Cent per Cent*, all Charges diſcounted. Theſe Mules are made uſe of to draw the Coaches and * *Galeras:* For the *Eſtramadura* Mules are very dear, and do not thrive in this Country ſo well as in the Southern Countries of *Spain*. As for the little Galloway's, they commonly ſell beſt in the Kingdom of *Valencia*, where the Peaſants imploy 'em for different uſes. The Coaches of that Country are much of the ſame Form with our Travelling-Coaches in *France;* and they go ſo

* *Great Carts drawn by eight Mules, which hold eight hundred weight.*

very ſlowly that they would not drive round the Town in the longeſt Summer's day. The cuſtom [282] of Viſiting upon Horſe-Back, prevails here as well as in *Portugal.* The Gentlemen and Officers are dreſs'd after the *French* way; for they find the *Spaniſh* Habit unſufferable, by reaſon of the *Golilla*, or a ſort of Collar, in which the Neck is ſo lac'd up, that they can't turn or bow the Head.

The Women's Garb ſeems ridiculous to Strangers, tho' at the bottom 'tis not ſuch. I am already convinc'd that 'tis infinitely preferable to *ours.* The *Spaniſh* Women can't cover any defect of Nature; for they wear neither Hoods, Heels, nor Whale-bone Bodice. Were the *French* Ladies oblig'd to go in this faſhion, 'twould not be in their Power to deceive ſo many Men by their artificial Towers, their Shooe-Heels and their falſe Hips. 'Tis true, the *Spaniſh* Women may be cenſur'd for diſcovering their Shoulders and half their Arms: But at the ſame time, the *French* muſt not go uncheck'd for expoſing to open eye two parts that are at once more ſenſible and more tempting; for if it be alleg'd that the former give offence backwards, by the ſame juſtice it may be reply'd that the latter ſcandaliſe before. In fine, as the Women of this Country lye under reſtraints, ſo they have the ſatisfaction of being very much reſpected; for when they paſs along the Streets either in Coach or on Foot, with their Face uncover'd, every body ſtops to make 'em a Bow, which they anſwer by bowing the Head without bending the Knee. Their Gentlemen-Uſhers, who are always old Fellows paſt the reach of Suſpicion, give 'em their bare hand; for ſuch is the *Spaniſh*

way: And theſe are the only priviledg'd Perſons that have the benefit of touching their hands; for when a *Cavalier* happens accidentally to be near the *Holy Water* while a Lady offers to come to it, he [283] ſhakes his Beads in the Water, in order to preſent 'em to her. The ſame is the caſe in Dancing, which do's not happen often: For the Gentleman and the Lady come no nearer than the two ends of a Handkerchief, by which they hold; and ſo you may gueſs how Buſſing would go down in this Country.

I muſt tell you, the *Spaniards* are not ſo ſtern and unſociable as they are repreſented; which you'll perceive from a ſlender account of their way of Entertainment. A Gentleman that I met frequently at the *Viceroy*'s, and at the *Academies*, did me the honour to Viſit me; and I return'd his Compliment in the ſame way. When I came to return the Viſit, he receiv'd me at the Stair-Head, and conducted me to a Hall, where we convers'd for half an hour; after which I ask'd how his Lady did, and he made anſwer, *that he believ'd ſhe was ſo well as to receive us in her Chamber*. This done, the Chocolate and Biſkuyts began to appear; upon which the Gentleman roſe and introduc'd me to his Lady's Chamber. The Lady ſtood up till we made our Honours, and ſate down upon her *Sofa*, while Chairs were ſetting for us. I told her I was infinitely oblig'd to her Husband for procuring me the honour of Saluting her. She made anſwer; *that he look'd upon me as a Spaniard.* After that we drank ſome Chocolate, and ſhe ask'd me if I lik'd it, and whether the *French* Ladies us'd to drink it. This Interview laſted but half a quarter of an hour, for

being affraid of infringing upon the *Spaniſh* Formalities, I roſe, and after taking leave walk'd out of the Room with her Husband, who invited me to Dinner. We walk'd till Dinner time in the Garden, and after the Gentleman had ſhewn me his Horſes, we went up again to the Hall, where the Table Cloath was laid: In [284] a moment in came the Lady, and Saluting us after her way, took her place on one ſide of the Table, as we did on the other. Firſt of all, they ſerv'd up *Melons*, *Raiſins*, *Nectarines*, and *Figs;* then every one had his Commons ſet before him, (like a *Monk*'s Meſs) conſiſting of a Breſt of Mutton Roaſted in the firſt Service, a Partridge and a Pigeon Roaſted in the ſecond, and a Rabbet Pye in the third, a Fricaſſee of Foul in the fourth, * *Oronges* ſurrounded with little Trouts of the bigneſs of one's Finger in the fifth, and an Appricock Tart in the ſixth: And after all, we had a ſort of Soupe as yellow as the Saffron with which 'twas cram'd. This, Sir, was the juſt Bill of Fare for every one's Meſs. In the mean time, we talk'd of nothing but the *French* Ladies. The Lady alleg'd that in *France*, the great Liberty allow'd to the Men in viſiting the Ladies, and Playing or Walking with 'em, expos'd the Wiſeſt and moſt Vertuous Women to the affronts of indiſcreet and detracting Perſons, who to make themſelves paſs for Men of happy Intrigues, defame the Ladies that reſiſt 'em. In fine, after we had rail'd againſt the Husbands that tamely put up ſuch affronts, inſtead of reſenting 'em, we roſe from

** A ſort of Muſhrooms red on the upper ſide, and yellow underneath.*

Table: So ſhe took leave after the uſual way, and retir'd to her Chamber. When I came to take leave of the Gentleman, he walk'd before me to the Head of the Stairs, where he ſtop'd on the left hand, leaving me the right while I bid him Adieu. There he ſtood till I got at the foot of the Stairs, upon which he gave me his Hat once more, and ſo we loſt ſight of one another.

[285] I thought it proper to give you the Hiſtory of this Adventure, that you may thereby know how the *Spaniards* treat their Friends. If a hundred Gentlemen had regal'd me at ſo many ſeveral times, there would have been no difference, unleſs it be as to the goodneſs of the Cheer; for the Ceremony is the ſame in one Houſe that you have in another. So that by this deſcription, you know all that's uſual in *Spain* upon ſuch occaſions. I believe I have acquainted you that the *Spaniſh* Women look upon us as an indiſcreet ſort of People, and perhaps they are not much out in their thoughts; for all the Women of *Europe* ſpeak of us at the ſame rate. I'll preſent you with ſome *Spaniſh* Verſes that a fooliſh ſort of a Poet made upon that Head above fifty years ago.

Los Diſcretos Eſpanoles
A Los Maridos Zelozos
Hazen en Callados Gozos
Orejus de Caracoles;
No ſan Tales les francezes
Tanto no pueden Cubrir
Antes Mas quieren Mil Vezes.
No hazer que no deſir.

That is to ſay in good Proſe. *The diſcreet Spaniards aſſiſt the Women to cuckold their Husbands by ſecret Imbraces; whereas the French can conceal nothing, for they'd chooſe a thouſand times rather to be without the Adventure, than not to ſpeak of it.*

This, Sir, is much of a piece with the Argument of that *Huron*, who alledges that we glory in requiting a Lady's Favour with a piece of Ingratitude, that tarniſhes her Reputation to all intents and purpoſes. This caution may teach the Women not to confide in rattle brain'd Fellows. A Woman of Senſe will eaſily find out the Character [286] of a Man, when ſhe has a mind to give her ſelf the trouble of inſpecting his conduct. Tho' our young Sparks are Fools, yet the Ladies choose 'em before wiſer Men; becauſe Wiſdom do's not take place till Nature begins to run low.

The indiſcreet Tongue of a young *Cavalier*, do's a conſiderable injury to his Miſtriſs: But at the ſame time, your Chamber-Maids and Confidents, are not leſs guilty. We have frequent inſtances of Women that loſe themſelves by neglecting a due Precaution with reference to their Domeſticks. I call that Woman a Wiſe Woman that knows how to cover her Folly handſomely. Now, this is one of the firſt Accompliſhments of your *Spaniſh* Women, who by that means oblige their Husbands very much; for tho' the Adventure makes the Cuckold, 'tis the Noiſe that makes the *Horns*. With this Lucky Word I conclude my Letter, intreating you would Write to me to *Bilbao*, for I deſign to go thither with the firſt opportunity. From thence I intend to Sweep (either by Sea

or Land) along the *Maritime* Coaſt, as far as *Portugal*, in order to view the Ports and Havens, I have ſo often heard of. I ſhall take more pleaſure in that diſcovery, than in ſeeing the fineſt Cities of the World: And thus you ſee there's no diſputing a Man out of his reliſh.

I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

[287] A Short

DICTIONARY

Of the moſt Univerſal

LANGUAGE

OF THE

SAVAGES.

I COULD eaſily have ſent you a compleat *Dictionary* of all the Savage Words, without excepting one, and of ſeveral curious Phraſes: But I conſider'd 'twould be of no uſe to you, it being ſufficient to ſee the common Words that are every Moment in their Mouths. This is enough for any Man that deſigns for *Canada*, for if he does but learn in his Paſſage thoſe I have ſet down, he will be able to Converſe with the Savages, after frequenting their Company two or three Months.

There are but two Mother Tongues in the whole extent

of *Canada*, which I confine within the Limits of *Miſſiſipi*[1]; but beyond that River there's an infinity of other Languages that few *Europeans* could yet learn, by reaſon of the little Correſpondence they have with the Savages of thoſe Parts. The two Mother Tongues I [288] ſpeak of, are the *Huron* and the *Algonkin*. The firſt is underſtood by the *Iroqueſe*, for the difference betwixt the *Huron* and the *Iroqueſe* Language is not greater than that between the *Norman* and the *French:* And ſome Savages on the Confines of *New York* ſpeak a Language that is very near the ſame. The *Andaſtoguerons*, *Torontogueronons*, *Errieronons*, and ſeveral other Savage Nations whom the *Iroqueſe* have totally deſtroy'd, ſpoke likewiſe the ſame Tongue, and underſtood one another perfectly well.[2] The Second, namely the *Algonkine*, is as much eſteem'd among the Savages, as the *Greek* and *Latin* is in *Europe;* tho' 'twould ſeem that the *Algonkins*, to whom it owes its Original, diſgrace it by the thinneſs of the Nation, for their whole number does not exceed two Hundred.

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[1] From the inception of their endeavors to convert the American tribes, the study of Indian linguistics necessarily occupied much attention on the part of the Jesuit missionaries of New France. Their narratives abound in descriptions of the native tongues, and the difficulties connected with acquiring them. They early recognized as the fundamental basis of their studies, the two stocks which Lahontan here describes. Different fathers devoted themselves to researches and compilations in each division of the great task. Brébeuf and Le Jeune, in particular, were authorities upon the Huron-Iroquois; André, upon the Algonquian tongue. In 1653 it was declared in the *Relations* that grammars and dictionaries were available for both of these linguistic types — *Jes. Rel.*, xxxix, p. 121. How far Lahontan was indebted to the Jesuits for his knowledge, and how far it was based solely on personal contact with the aborigines, is not clearly to be determined. His facility in the languages of the savages is evident throughout his narrative. — Ed.

[2] For these tribes, see p. 320, note 1, *ante*. — Ed.

You muſt know that all the Languages of *Canada*, excepting the *Huron* and thoſe which retain to it, come as near to the *Algonkine*, as the *Italian* to the *Spaniſh;* and 'tis for that reaſon that all the Warriours and ancient Counſellors of ſo many different Nations affect to ſpeak it with all manner of nicety. 'Tis ſo neceſſary to Travellers in that Country, that in ſpeaking it one is certain of making himſelf to be underſtood by all ſorts of Savages in whatſoever place he comes to, whether in *Acadia* or *Hudſon*'s *Bay*, or upon the Lakes, or even among the *Iroqueſe*, among whom a great many have learn'd it for Reaſons of State, notwithſtanding that it differs from theirs more widely than Night from Day.[1]

The *Algonkine* Language has neither *Tone* nor *Accent*, nor ſuperfluous dead Letters; ſo that 'tis as eaſie to pronounce it as to write it. 'Tis not Copious, no more than the other Languages of *America;* for the People of that Continent are [289] Strangers to Arts and Sciences, they are unacquainted with the Laws of Ceremony and Complement, and an infinity of Words that the *Europeans* uſe to imbelliſh their Diſcourſe. Their Speech is only adapted to the Neceſſities and Conveniences of Life, and there is not one uſeleſs or ſuperfluous Word in the whole Language. Farther, this Tongue makes no uſe either of F or V Conſonant.[2]

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[1] On the widespread utility of the Algonquian language, especially in its Chippewa form, which is considered the oldest and purest, see "J. Long's Voyages," in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, ii, pp. 28–30. — Ed.

[2] For the Algonquian tongue, and the early studies thereof by English colonists, see the works of John Eliot, Roger Williams, and Jonathan Edwards as indicated in Pilling, *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages* (Washington, 1891). — Ed.

To the end of the *Dictionary* I have added the four Tenſes of the *Indicative* of the Verb, *I love.* The *Indicative* is form'd from the *Infinitive*, by adding the Perſonal Note *ni*, which ſignifies *me* or *I.* Thus, *Sakia* ſignifies *to love*, and *Niſakia*, *I love.* The ſame is the caſe with all the other Verbs.

'Tis an eaſie matter to conjugate the Verbs of this Language after one has learn'd the Preſent Tenſe of the Indicative Mood. To the Imperfect Tenſe they add *Ban*, as *Sakiaban*, *I lov'd;* to the Perfect Tenſe they add *ki* after the perſonal mark, as *ni kiſakia*, *I have lov'd*, and to the Future *ga* in like manner, as *ni gaſakia* or *nin gaſakia*, *I ſhall love.* All the other Tenſes of the Verb are form'd from the Preſent of the Indicative, for Example, *Ningaſakiaban*, *I would love*, *Ninkiſakiaban*, *I ſhould have lov'd.* In a Word, when the Preſent of the Indicative, and the additional Particles for the other Tenſes, are once known, the whole Language may be learn'd in a very little time. As for the Imperative 'tis form'd by prefixing *A* to the Infinitive, as *Aſakia*, *love thou*, and the Plural, *let us love*, is form'd by ſubjoyning *Ta* to the Infinitive, as *Sakiata*, *let us love.* It remains only to ſhew the Perſonal Notes, *viz.*

[290] I or Me, *Nir*,
Thee or Thou, *Kir*,
He or Him, *Ouir.*
We, *Niraoueint.*
You, *Kiraoua.*
You and We, *Kiraoueint.*
They or Them, *Ouiraoua.*

A

ABandon or forſake, I abandon, *Packitan.*
Above, *Spimink.*
Admirable, 'tis admirable (the Savages ſpeak it by way of Deriſion) *Pilaoua.*
Afterwards, *Mipidach.*
All, *Kakina.*
All of 'em, *Miſſoute.*
All in all, *Alouch bogo.*
Always, *Kakeli.*
Amiſs, that's amiſs, 'tis good for nothing, *Napitch Malatat.*
And, *Gaye* or *Mipigaye.*
Arrive, I arrive, *Takouchin.*
Aſhes, Powder, Duſt, *Pingoe.*
Aſſiſt or Aid, *Maouineoua.*
Ax, a great Ax, *Agackouet.*
A little Ax, *Agackouetons.*

B

BAg, a Tobacco bag, *Caſpitagan.*
Ball, *Alouin.*
Barrel, *Aoyentagan.*
Beat, I beat, *Packite.*
A Bear, *Mackoua.*
A little Bear, *Makons.*
Beard, *Miſchiton.*
Beaver, the Animal, *Amik.*
Beaver-Skin, *Apiminikoue.*
to Be or reſt, *Tapia.*
Becauſe, *Miouinch.*
to Believe, *Tilerima.*
Belly, *Miſchimout.*
Black, *Markate.*
Blood, *Miſcoue.*
Body, *Tao*
Bottle, *Chichigoue.*
Brother, *Nicanich.*
Brandy, the juice or Broth of Fire, *Scoutiouabou.*
Brave Soldier, *Simaganis.*
Bread, *Pa-bouchikan.*
Brech, *Miſcoaſab.*
[291] Breeches, a circumlocution for the covering of the Brech, *Kipokitie Koaſab.*
Broth or Juice, *Ouabou.*
Buck, *Ouaskech.*
Buckler, *Pakakoa.*
Build, to build Veſſels or Canous, *Chimanike.*

C

CAll, to call or name, *Tichinika.*
Candle, to ſnuff the Candle, to ſtir up the Fire, *Ouaſacolendamaoua.*
Canou, *Chiman.*
Captain, Leader, *Okima.*
to Carry, *Pitou* or *Pita.*
Caldron, *Akik.*
Change, I change, *Miſcoutch.*
Child, little Children, *Bobilouchins.*
Coat, *Capotiouian.*
Cold, I am cold, *Kikatch.*
Come on, *Mappe.*
to Come, *Pimatcha.*
Comrade, at my Comrade's Houſe, *Nitche*, *Nitchikoue.*
Concern'd or diſquieted, *Talimiſſi.*
Corn, *Malomin.*
Covering, a white Woollen Covering, *Ouabiouian.*
Country, *Endalakian.*
Courage, I have Courage, *Tagouamiſſi.*
C * *Maskimout.*
Cup made of Bark, *Oulagan.*

D

ADab, *Malamek.*
Dance, I dance, *Nimi.*
Dance of the Savages to the Sound of Gourds, *Chichikoue.*
Dart, I dart, *Patchipaoua.*
Day, to day, *Ningom.*
One day, *Okonogat.*
Dead, *Nipouin.*
Devil, Evil Spirit, *Matchi Manitou.*
Die, I die, *Nip.*
Diſh of Maple Wood, *Soule Mickoan.*
Dog, *Alim.*
Little Dog, *Alimons.*
Do, I do, *Tochiton.*
Done, 'tis done, *Chaye.*
Doubtleſs, *Antetatouba.*
Dreſs Meat: I do the Kettle, (a Phraſe) *Poutaoue.*
Drink, I drink, *Minikoue.*
Drunken, a Fool, *Ouſkouebi.*
Duck, *Chichip.*

[292] E

EAch or every one, *Pepegik.*
Earth, *Acke* or *Ackouin.*

to Eat, *Ouiſſin.*
Elſewhere, *Coutadibi.*
Engliſh, *Ouatſakamink*, *Dachirini.*
Enough, 'tis enough, *Mimilic.*
Equal or like one another, *Tabiſcoutch.*
Eſteem, I eſteem or honour, *Napitelima.*
Eyes, *Ouskinchic.*

F

FAll, to fall, *Pankiſin.*
Far off, *Ouatſa.*
Faſt, to go faſt, *Ouelibick.*
Fat, *Pimite.*
Father, my Father, *Nouſce.*
Fatigued, I am fatigu'd, *Takouſſi.*
Few or little, *Me Mangis.*
Fields ſown, *Kitteganink.*
to Find, *Nantouneoua.*
Fire, *Scoute.*
to ſtrike Fire with a Stone, *Scoutecke.*
Firelock, *Scoutekan.*
Fish, *Kikons.*
White Fiſh, *Attikamec.*
Fork, *Naſſaouakouat.*
Formerly, *Piraouigo.*
Fort or Fortreſs, *Ouackaigan.*
Fortify, I make Forts, *Ouackaike.*
Forwards in the Wood, *Nopemenk.*
A Fowl, *Pilé.*
France, the Country of the *French*, *Mittigouchiouek*, *Endalakiank.*
The *French*, term'd Builders of Ships, *Mittigouch.*
to Freeze, *Kiſſin.*
It freezes hard, *Kiſſina Magat.*
Full, *Mouskinet.*
Fuſee, *Paskiſigan.*

G

GIrle, *Ickoueſſens.*
Give, I give, *Mila.*
Glaſs, a Looking-glaſs, *Ouabemo.*
Go by Water, *Pimiſca.*
God of Heaven, Maſter of Life; Great Spirit; the unknown Being, *Kitchimanitou.*
Good, *Kouelatch.*
Govern, I Govern, *Tiberima.*
[293] Governor General of *Canada*, *Kitchiokimaſi maganich*, *i. e.* great Captain of War.
Grape, *Choemin.*

Great in the way of Merit, Valour, Courage, *&c. Kitchi.*
Great in Stature, *Mentitou.*
Greedy, *Saſakiſſi.*
Gut, *Olabich.*

H

HAir, *Liſſis.*
Hair of Beaſts *Piouel.*
Half, *Nabal.*
Handſome, Proper, *Saſega.*
Hare, *Ouapous.*
Hart, *Micheoue.*
Hate, I Abhor, *Chinguerima.*
Have, to have, *Tindala.*
Head, *Ouſticouan.*
Heaven, the upper Earth, *Spiminkakouin.*
Herb, *Mijask.*
Here, *Achonda* or *Achomanda.*
Hidden, *Kimouch.*
Home, at my Houſe, *Entayant.*
To Honour, *Mackaouala.*
Hot, *Akichatte.*
How, *Tani.*
How many, *Tanſou*, or *Tanimilik.*
Hungry, I am hungry, *Packate.*
Hunt, I hunt, *Kiouſſe.*
Hurons, the People, *Nadouck.*
Hut, *Ouikiouam.*

I.

JEſuit, Black Gown, *Mackate ockola.*
Iſland, *Minis.*
Immediately, *Ouibatch.*
Impoſtor, *Malatiſſi.*
Indian Corn, *Mittamin.*
Intirely, *Napitch.*
Iron, *Piouabick.*
Iroqueſe, in the Plural Number, *Matchinadoaek.*

K.

KEep, I keep, *Ganaouerima.*
Kettle, *Akikons.*
King of *France*, the Great Head of the *French*, *Mittigouch Kitchi Okima.*
Knife, *Mockoman.*
A Crooked Knife, *Coutagan.*
[294] Know, I know, *Kikerima.*
To know, *Kikerindan.*

L.

LAke, great Lake, *Kitchigamink.*
Lame, *Kakikatè.*
Land Carriage, *Cappatagan.*
To Laugh, *Papi.*
Lazy, *Kittimi.*

To Leave, *Packitan:*
Letter, *Maſignaygan.*
Liberal, *Oualatiſſi.*
Life, *Nouchimouin.*
Light, ſplendor, *Venclao.*
Little, *Ouabiloucheins.*
To Live, *Noutchimou.*
Long ſince, 'tis long ago, *Chachayè.*
Loſe at play, I loſe, *Packilague.*
Love, to love, *Sakia.*
To ly down, *Ouipema.*

M.

MAle, *Nape.*
Malicious, cheating, one that has an Ill Heart, *Malatchitehe.*
Man, *Aliſinape.*
March, I march, *Pimouſſe.*
Marry, I take a Woman, *Ouiouin.*
Marryed Man, *Napema.*
Meat, *Oüias.*
A Med'cine, or Potion, *Maskikik.*
To meet *Nantouneoua.*
Merchandize Goods, *Alokatchigan.*
Miſtreſs, or She-Friend, *Nirimouſens.*
Moon, the Star of the Night, *Debikat Ikizis.*
to Morrow, *Ouabank.*
The Day after to Morrow, *Ouſouabank.*
A Mortar of Wood for beating *Indian* Corn, *Poutagan.*
Much, *Nibila.*

N

NAtions, People, *Irini.*
Near, *Pechouetch.*
Needle, a ſewing Needle, *Chabonikan.*
Never, *Kaouicka.*
News, *Tepatchimou-kan.*
I bring News, *Tepatchimou.*
Night, *Debikat.*
No, *Ka.*
No body, *Kagouetch* or *Kaouia.*
Noſe, *Yach:*
Not at all, *Kamamenda* or *Kagouetch.*
Not yet, *Ka maſchi.*
Nothing, *Kakegou.*

[295] O

OAR, *Appoue.*
Old, *Kioucheins.*
One-Eyed, *Paskingoe.*

Original, Elk, *Mons.*
A young and little Elk, *Manichich.*
Other, *Coutac.*
Otter, *Nikik.*

P

PAP, or the juice of the Meal of *Indian* Corn, *Mitaminabou.*
Part, in what part, *Tanipi.*
Partridges, *Pileſioue.*
Pay, I pay, *Tipaham.*
Peace, *Peca.*
to make Peace, *Pecatechi.*
Peninſula, *Miniſſin.*
Perſuaſion, *Tirerigan.*
Pike, Fiſh, *Kinonge.*
Pipe, Calumet, *Poagan.*
to Piſs, *Minſi.*
Pity, to take pity, *Chaouerima.*
to Play, *Packigoue.*
to Pleaſe one, I pleaſe, *Marouerindan.*
Porcelain Beads, *Aouies.*
Powder, Gunpowder, *Pingoe, Mackate.*
To pour out, *Sibikinan.*
To pray to God, *Talamia Kitchimanitou.*
Preſent, at preſent, *Nougam.*
Preſently, *Ouibatch.*
Petty, *Olichichin.*
P*, *Patchagon.*
Proper, Handſome, *Saſega.*
to Purſue, *Nopinala.*
I put away (a term uſed for a Man's putting away his Wife) *Ouebinan.*

Q.

QUickly, *Kegatch.*

R

RAin, *Kimiouan.*
Red Colour, *Miſcoue.*
Red Powder, eſteemed by the Savages *Oulaman.*
to Regard, *Ouabemo.*
to Regrate, *Kouiloma.*
Relation, Kinſman, *Taouema.*
Reſolve, I reſolve, *Tibelindan.*
to Reſpect, *Tabamica.*
to Reſt or Repoſe, *Chinkichin.*
Right, to be in the right, *Tepoa.*
A Ring, *Dibilinchibiſon.*

River, *Sipim.*
Robe, *Ockola.*
Root, *Ouſtikoues.*
Row, to row, *Tapoue.*
to Run, *Pitchibat.*
Run to, I run to, *Pitchiba.*

[296] S

SAble, *Negao.*
Sack, *Maskimout.*
Sad, to be ſad, *Talimiſſi.*
Sail, I ſail, *Pimiſca.*
to Salute, *Mackaouala.*
Say, I ſay, *Tila.*
He ſays, ſays he, (a very uſual Word) *Youa.*
Sea, a great Lake without limits, *Agankitchigamink.*
To ſee, *Ouabemo.*
Seek, I ſeek, *Nantaouerima.*
Senſe, to have ſenſe, *Nabouacka.*
Ship, or Great Canow, *Kitchi Chiman.*
Shirt, *Papakiouian.*
Shooes, *Mackiſin.*
Sick, *Outineous.*
Side, on the other ſide, *Gaamink.*
Since, *Mipidach.*
To ſing, *Chichin.*
Skin, *Pachikin.*
Slave, *Ouackan.*
Sleep, *Nipa.*
Smoak, I ſmoak Tobacco, *Pentakoe.*
To make a Smoak, *Sagaſſoa.*
Softly, *Peccabogo.*
Sons, *Nitiani.*
Sorry, I am ſorry, *Iskatiſſi.*
Soldier, *Simaganich*
To Speak, *Galoula.*
Spirit, an Intelligent Inviſible Being, *Manitou.*
Spoon, *Mickouan.*
Spring-time, *Mirockamink.*
Star, *Alank.*
To ſteal, *Kimoutin.*
Stockins, Hoſe, *Mitas,*
Stone, *Aſſin.*
Strong, firm, hard, *Maſchkaoua.*
A Strong-man, *Machkaoueſſi.*
Very ſtrong, *Magat.*
Sturgeon, Fiſh, *Lamek.*
Sun, *Kiſis.*
Sweat, to ſweat, *Matoutou.*
Sword, *Simagan.*
Surpriſing, 'tis ſurpriſing or wonderful, *Etteouè.*

T.

TObacco, *Sema.*
Take, I take, *Takouan.*
Take hold, *Emanda.*
Teeth, *Tibit.*
That, *Maba.*
There, that way, *Mandadibi.*
There, at a diſtance, *Ouatſadibi.*
[297] To Think or entertain an Opinion, *Tilelindan.*
This, *Manda.*
This way, *Undach.*
On this ſide, *Undachdibi.*
Time, a long time ago, *Chachayè, Piraouigo.*
Together, *Mamaouè.*
Tongue, *Outan.*
Too Little, *Oſſame Mangis.*
Too much, *Oſſani.*
To Truck *Tataouan.*
Truly *Keket.*
A Turtle-Dove, *Mimi.*
Tyr'd, I am tyr'd, *Takonſi.*

W.

WAlk, I walk, *Tija.*
Value, it is a valuable Thing, *Arimat.*
Water, *Nibi.*
War, *Nantobali.*
To make War, *Nantoubalima.*
Warriors, *Nantobalitchick.*
Way, or Road, *Mickan.*
Well, that is well, *Oüeoüelim.*
Well, well, what then? *Achindach.*
Well then, *Taninentien.*
What's that? *Ouaneouine.*
What has he? *Kekouanen.*
Whence, *Tanipi.*
Whence come ye? *Tanipi Endayenk.*
Where? *Ta.*
Where is he? *Tanipi Api.*
While, *Megaotch.*
White, *Ouabi.*
Whither do you go? *Taga Kitiga.*
Who's that? *Ouaneouine maba.*
Why? *Tanientien.*
Wicked, in ſpeaking of the *Iroqueſe, Malataſſi.*
Will, *Ouiſch.*
Village, *Oudenanc.*
Win at play, I win, *Packitan.*
Wind, *Loutin.*
Wine, the Juice or Broath of Grapes, *Choeminabou.*
Viſit, to pay a Viſit, *Piametiſſa.*

Winter, *Pipoun.*
I Winter, or paſs the Winter, *Pipounichi.*
To underſtand, *Niſitotaoua.*
Wolf, *Mahingan.*
Woman, *Ickoue.*
Wood for Firing, *Mittik.*
Write, I write, *Maſinaike.*

Y.

YEllow, *Ouzao.*
Yes, *Mi*, or *Mincouti.*
Yes, indeed, *Ante*, or *Sankema.*
Yeſterday, *Pitchilago.*
Yet, *Minaouatch.*
Young, *Ouskinekiſſi.*

[298] I ſhall here content my ſelf in giving you the four *Tenſes* of the *Indicative Mood* of one *Verb;* by a view of which you may form the Conjugation of the other *Moods.* 'Twere eaſy to inlarge upon this Subject; but if I offer'd to launch out, the multiplicity of things that fall in the way, would oblige me to Write a formal *Grammar.*

To love, *Sakia.*

Preſent

I love, *Niſakia.*
Thou loveſt, *Ki ſakia.*
He loves, *Ou ſakia.*
We love, *Ni ſakiamin.*
Ye love, *Kiſakiaoua.*
We and you love, *Kiſakiaminaoua.*
They love, *Sakiaouak.*

Imperfect.

I loved, *Ni ſakiaban.*
Thou lovd'ſt, *Ki ſakiaban.*
He lov'd, *Ou ſakiaban.*
We lov'd, *Ni ſaikaiminaban.*
You lov'd, *Ki ſakiaouaban.*
We and you lov'd, *Kiſakiminaouaban.*
They lov'd, *Sakiabanik.*

I have lov'd, *Ni kiſakia.*
Thou haſt lov'd, *Ki kiſakia.*
He has lov'd, *Ou kiſakia.*
We have lov'd, *Ni kiſakiamin.*
You have lov'd, *Ki kiſakiaoua.*
We and you have lov'd, *Ki kiſakiaminaoua.*
They have lov'd, *Kiſakiaouak.*

I ſhall love, *Ningaſakia.*
Thou ſhalt love, *Ki gaſakia.*
He ſhall love, *Ou gaſakia.*
We ſhall love, *Nin gaſakiamin.*
You ſhall love, *Ki gaſakiaoua.*
We and you ſhall love, *Ki gaſakiaminaoua.*
They ſhall love, *Gaſakiaouak.*
Love thou, *Aſakia.*
Let us love, *Aſakiata.*

As for the *Nouns* they are not declin'd at all. The plural number is form'd by a *k.* added to a ſingular, ending in a *Vowel*, as *Aliſinape* ſignifies a Man, and *Aliſinapek* ſeveral Men. If the *Noun* [299] ends with a *Conſonant*, the plural is form'd by the addition of *ik;* as *Minis* ſignifies an Iſle, and *Miniſſik* Iſles; *Paskiſigan* a Fuſee, and *Paſkiſiganik* a plurality of Fuſees.

The *Algonkin* way of Counting.

ONe, *Pegik.*
Two, *Ninch.*
Three, *Niſſoue.*
Four, *Neou.*
Five, *Naran.*
Six, *Ningoutouaſſou.*
Seven, *Ninchouaſſou.*
Eight, *Niſſouaſſou.*
Nine, *Changaſſou.*
Ten, *Mittaſſou.*
Eleven, *Mittaſſou achi pegik.*
Twelve, *Mitaſſou achi ninch.*
Thirteen, *Mitaſſou achi niſſoue.*
Fourteen, *Mitaſſou achi neou.*
Fifteen, *Mitaſſou achi naran.*
Sixteen, *Mitaſſou achi ningotouaſſou.*
Seventeen, *Mitaſſou achi ninchoaſſou.*
Eighteen, *Mitaſſou achi niſſouaſſou.*
Nineteen, *Mitaſſou achi changaſſou.*
Twenty, *Ninchtana.*
Twenty one, *Ninchtana achi pegik.*
Twenty two, *Ninchtana achi ninch.*
Twenty three, *Nichtana achi niſſoue.*

Twenty four, *Ninchtana achi neou.*
Twenty five, *Ninchtana achi naran.*
Twenty ſix, *Ninchtana achi ningotouaſſou.*
Twenty ſeven, *Ninchtana achi ninchoaſſou.*
Twenty eight, *Ninchtana achi niſſouaſſou.*
Twenty nine, *Ninchtana achi changaſſou.*
Thirty, *Niſſouemitana.*
Thirty one, *Niſſouemitana achi pegik, &c.*
Fourty, *Neoumitana.*
Fifty, *Naran mitana.*
Sixty, *Ningoutouaſſou mitana.*
Seventy, *Ninchouaſſou mitana.*
Eighty, *Niſſouaſſou mitana.*
Ninety, *Changaſſou mitana.*
A hundred, *Mitaſſou mitana.*
A thouſand, *Mitaſſou mitaſſou mitana.*

[300] If you can once count to a hundred, 'tis eaſy to count by tens from a thouſand to a hundred thouſand, which number is in a manner unknown to the *Savages*, and by conſequence not us'd in their Language.

You muſt take care to pronounce fully all the letters of the Words, and to reſt upon the *A*'s that come at the end. The pronunciation is very eaſy, becauſe this Language has no Guttural or Palate Letters, ſuch as the *Spaniſh J Conſonant* with their *G* and their *H*, as well as the *Engliſh th*, which puts a Foreigner's Tongue upon the rack.

I can't paſs by one curious Remark touching the Language of the *Hurons* and the *Iroqueſe;* namely, that it do's not uſe the Labial Letters, viz. *b*, *f*, *m*, *p*. And yet the *Huron*'s Language appears to be very pretty, and ſounds admirably well, notwithſtanding that the *Hurons* never ſhut their Lips when they ſpeak.

Commonly the *Iroqueſe* make uſe of it in their Harangues and Councils, when they enter upon a Negotiation with the

French or *Engliſh.* But in their Domeſtick Interviews they ſpeak their Mother Tongue.

None of the Savages of *Canada* care to ſpeak *French*, unleſs they are perſuaded that the force of their Words will be perfectly underſtood. They muſt be very well ſatisfied upon that Head before they venture to expoſe themſelves in ſpeaking their mind in *French;* abating for ſome caſes of neceſſity, when they are in Company with the *Coureurs de Bois* that do not underſtand their Language.

To return to the *Huron* Language; we muſt conſider that ſince neither the *Hurons* nor the *Iroqueſe* uſe the Labial Letters, 'tis impoſſible for [301] either of 'em to learn *French* well. I have ſpent four days in trying to make the *Hurons* pronounce the Labial Letters, but I could not accompliſh it; nay, I am of the Opinion that in ten years time they would not learn to pronounce theſe Words, *Bon*, *Fils*, *Monſieur*, *Ponchartrain:* For inſtead of *Bon* they'd ſay *Ouon;* inſtead of *Fils*, *Rils;* inſtead of *Monſieur*, *Caounſieur;* and in the room of *Ponchartrain*, *Conchartrain.*

I have here added ſome Words of the *Huron* Language, that your curioſity may be gratified with a view of the difference between that and the *Algonkin.* The *Hurons* ſpeak with a great deal of gravity, and almoſt all their Words have aſpirations, the *H* being pronounc'd as ſtrong as poſſible.

I do not know that the Letter *F* is usd in any of the *Savage* Languages. 'Tis true, the *Eſſanapes* and the *Gnacſitares* have it; but they are Seated upon the long River beyond the *Miſſiſipi*, and conſequently out of the Limits of *Canada.*

Some *Huron* Words.

TO be a Man of Senſe, *Hondioun.*
Spirit, Divinity, *Ocki.*
Fire, *Tſiſta.*
Iron, *Aouiſta.*
Woman, *Ontehtian.*
Fuſee, *Ouraouenta.*
To be ſorry, *Oungaroun.*
'Tis cold, *Outoirha.*
Fat, *Skoueton.*
Man, *Onnonhoue.*
Yeſterday, *Hiorheha.*
Jeſuit, *Tſiſtatſi.*
Far, *Deherén.*
Otter, *Taouinet.*
Not, *Staa.*
Yes, *Endae.*
Pipe or Calumet, *Gannondaoua.*
Near, *Touskeinhia.*
Soldiers, *Skenraguettè.*
To Salute, *Igonoron.*
Shooes, *Arrachiou.*
Traffick, *Attendinon.*
Altogether, *Tiaoundi.*
All of 'em, *Aouetti.*
Tobacco, *Oyngoua.*
'Tis valuable, difficult, [302] and of importance, *Gannoron.*
To be gone, *Saraskoua.*
Covetous, *Onnonſtè.*
Handſome, Proper, *Akouaſti.*
Very much, *Atoronton.*
That's well, *Andeya.*
I Drink, *Ahirrha.*
Indian Corn, *Onneha.*
Stockins, *Arrhich.*
A Bottle, *Gatſeta.*
A brave Man, *Songuitehe.*
'Tis done, *Houna.*
My Brother, *Yatſi.*
My Comrade, *Yonaro.*
Heaven, *Toendi.*
A Hutt, *Honnonchia.*
Hair, *Eonhora.*
Captain, *Otcon.*
Dog, *Agnienon.*
Softly, *Skenonha.*
Peace, *Skenon.*
I ſay, *Attatia.*
To morrow, *Achetek.*
To be, *Sackie.*

INDEX

INDEX

Abenaki Indians, significance of name, 328; habitat, xxviii, 327, 328; language, 339; migrations, 90, 327, 328, 330; tribe of, 90, 328; French allies, 328; St. Castin among, 328, 329; missions for, 46–49, 328–330, 339, 340; give tidings of English fleet, 242; present numbers, 328; characterized, 339; sketch, 327, 328.
Abies canadensis, 371.
Abittibi (Tabitibi) Indians, habitat, 342; language, 342; characterized, 342; sketch, 342.
Acadia, climate, 325, 326; part of Canada, 302; boundaries, 236, 323, 324; coast, 323, 324; described, 323–327; early grant of, 331; Indians, 90, 327, 328, 339, 399, 414, 734; settlement, 324, 326, 331; population, 330; capital, 330, 331; in Lahontan's lieutenancy, xxx, 281; governors of, 52, 53, 237, 288, 326, 327, 332; French officers in, 224, 236, 237; English in, 69, 227, 326; projected attack on, 274; fisheries, 324–326; fur-trade, 327, 328; missions, 329, 330; agriculture, 325; visited by bishop, 232.
Acadiensis, 330.
Acipenser rubicundus, 156.
Achirigouan Indians, habitat, 342; language, 342; characterized, 342; sketch, 342.
Adario (Kondiaronk, The Rat), Huron chief, characterized, xlviii, 220, 242; Denonville attempts to punish, 209, 220; French ally, 220; relations with Frontenac, 149; at Fort Frontenac, 220, 221; relations with Iroquois, xxii, 149, 165, 220–225, 237, 238, 508; opposed to war, 495, 496; friend of Lahontan, xxii, 9, 165; Dialogue with Lahontan, xiv, lxi, 7, 8, 517–618; arguments, 442, 443; quoted, xliv, xlvi, 495, 496; wife, 461; funeral, 149; sketch, 149.
Adders, in Canada, 352, 357.
Africans, characteristics of, 282, 284.
Agnies Indians. *See* Mohawk Indians.
Akansas Indians. *See* Arkansa Indians.
Akouessan. *See* Longueuil.
Albany (N. Y.), location, 7; raids near, 240, 262.
Alders, in Canada, 365.
Algonkin Indians, habitat, 47, 50, 51; vocabulary of language, 733–748; numbers, 733; allied with French, 51; conduct French to Iroquois country, 81, 82; Lahontan hunts with, 46, 47, 88, 89; mission for, 49; sketch, 51.
Algonquian family, tribes of, xl, 47, 77, 82, 90, 168, 174, 175, 218, 309, 317, 327, 340, 343, 398; original tribe of, 342; language, 47, 176, 297, 339, 342, 733, 734; vocabulary, 297, 736–748; name for governor of Canada, 97, 404; religious ideas of, 435.
Alligator mississippiensis, 347.
Allouez, Father Claude, founds Green Bay mission, 168; monument to, 168; mentions wild rice, 175; cited, 494.
American Naturalist, 200.
Amherstburg (Ont.), Indian reservation near, 155.
Ammunition, Canadian import, 376.

AMO

Amours, Geneviève d', affair with Lahontan, xxvii, xxviii, 388–390; marriage, 391; god-daughter of Frontenac, xxviii.
—, Mathieu d', councillor at Quebec, 324, 325, 388; grants of land, 325; friend of Nelson, 389, 390.
—, Mathieu d', the younger, in New Brunswick, xxviii, 324, 325; friend of Nelson, xxviii, 389, 390.
—, Réné d', in New Brunswick, xxviii, 324, 325; defends fort, 325; friend of Nelson, xxviii, 389, 390.
Anastase, Father. *See* Douay.
Andastes Indians, identified, 320; habitat, 320, 321.
Andastogueron Indians, language, 733.
André, Louis, authority on Algonquian language, 733.
Andros, Sir Edmond, uprising against, 265.
Angola, Portuguese colony, 282, 283; customs, 632; ships, 636.
Angui, Messieurs d', provision Placentia, 282.
Annapolis, site, 331; population, 331. *See also* Port Royal.
Anne, ruler of England, 3; war in reign of, 5.
Anschild (Anskoeld), Frederick, reputed discoverer, 309–311; origin of myth of, 309; *Journals*, 310.
Anse du Tonnerre. *See* Bay, Thunder.
Aoutaerobi, Indian spirit, 603.
Apache Indians, medicine men among, 468.
Appleton (Wis.), rapids at, 174.
Apple-trees, of Canada, 319, 364; fruit described, 367.
Aragon, capital, lxi, 9, 718; government, 720, 721; social classes, 724, 725; customs, 727–729; physical characteristics of people, 721; women, 722, 723, 729, 730; dress, 726; morality, 723, 724, 728–730; food,

ATT

Aragon (*continued*).
721, 728; wines, 721; inns, 721; carriages, 725, 726.
Arce, Sieur d'. *See* Isaac, baron Lahontan.
Arctomys pruniosus, 111.
Arctostaphylos ura-ursa, 474.
Aria. *See* Viele.
Aristotle, Lahontan describes, xiv, 116, 117.
Arkansa Indians, hunt buffalo, 203, 204; Lahontan meets, 203–205, 465, 466; trade with Illinois, 204; possess iron instruments, 204; La Salle among, 204; French term for Siouan tribe, 204; migrations, 204; sketch, 204.
Arkansas, Indians of, 204.
Army, troops in Canada, xi, xv, 386, 387; first troops arrive, 392; quartered, xii, xiv, 387; work for habitants, 387; in trade, 387; relations between officers and soldiers, 391; pay of officers, 383; marriage of officers, 387, 388; pay of soldiers, 383.
Arpent, French measure, defined, 35.
Arrèche, Sieur d', French merchant, 655.
Arrow-heads (iron), in fur-trade, 378.
Asher, George M., *Henry Hudson the Navigator*, 309.
Ash-trees, of Canada, 364.
Aspens, of Canada, 365; described, 371; food of beavers, 371, 480, 482.
Asps, in Canada, 352; poisonous, 357.
Assan-oustick, Indian word for tomahawk, 402.
Assiniboin (Assinipoual) Indians, habitat, 304, 305, 342, 343; language, 342, 343; tribe associated with, 343; migrations, 343.
Associates of Montreal, 53, 55, 233.
Astrolabe, described, 401.
Atinton Indians. *See* Teton Indians.
Attikamek (Attikamégues) Indians, language, 340; habitat, 340; destroyed, 340; sketch, 340.

AUN

Aunay, Count d', escort to Lahontan, 257, 258; thanked, 259.
Aunoy, Madam d', 647.
Authoutantas Indians. *See* Oto Indians.
Auvergne, commerce of, 725; mules, 633.
Aux, Chevalier Pierre d', sent on embassy to Iroquois, xxvi, 238, 239, 508; imprisoned, xxvi, 238, 239, 508; escapes, 239; brings information, 239; sketch, 239.
Avaux, Count d', Lahontan's patron, 11, 12.
Aveiro, Lahontan at, 619, 625, 626; harbor, 622; situation, 625; salt works, 625.
Aveneau, Father Claude, chaplain at Fort St. Joseph, xx, 140; sketch, 140.
Awls, in fur-trade, 377.
Axes, in fur-trade, 377.
Aztec calendar, 428.

BACCALEOS, early name for Newfoundland and Labrador, 307.
Badgers, Canadian like European, 343; animal resembling, 344.
Bain, James, jr., *Henry's Travels and Adventures*, 99, 219, 309, 357, 380.
Balenots, in Canada, 358; described, 360.
Balzac, Jean Louis Guez de, *Letters*, 692; *Dissertations*, 692.
Bar-Haven (havre de barre), described, 622.
Bases, small fish, 358.
Baskets, of birch-bark, 370.
Basques, early American explorers, x; fisheries off New Foundland, 308.
Basse-Pyrenées, Lahontan born in, ix.
Bastille, French prison, 53, 265, 293, 294; Lahontan fears, xxxii.
Batteurs de faux, identified, 110; size, 351.

BAY

Bay of Biscay, fishermen at Newfoundland, 275, 305; reputation of sailors, 272; soldiers, 276, 278; aid in defence, 279, 281; captains favor Lahontan, 288; harbors in, 294.
— Chaleurs, described, 324; origin of name, 324; fishing villages, 306.
— Chequamegon, traders near, 315; French post on, 209.
— Dingle, on west coast of Ireland, 302.
— Fortune, Newfoundland, 334.
— Française. *See* Fundy.
— Fundy, 330; explored, 324; tercentenary of settlement, 324.
— Georgian, islands in, 154, 218; route through, 218, 273; north channel, 218; Indians near, 340, 488.
— Grand. *See* Grand Traverse.
— Grand Traverse (Mich.), identified, 208; early names for, 208; affluent of, 210; beaver hunting grounds, 481; described, 210.
— Green, French name for, 146, 167; significance, 146; fur-trade, 146, 168; location, 167, 494; islands in, 167; Lahontan visits, xxiv, xlii, 167–173; described, 167; tides in, 168; Indian villages near, xxiv; Jesuit mission near, xviii, 168; fertility of, 168.
— Hamilton (Ganadoké, Ganaraské), 321, 322; Iroquois hunting ground, 323.
— Hudson, origin of name, 311; described, 309, 314; climate, 314; discovery, 309–311; explorations, 244, 310, 312; boundary, 302; natives, 47, 308, 309, 312, 342, 734; French posts, 313; English posts, 312, 313, 316; French and English struggle for, 69, 217, 236, 244, 312–314; fur-trade, 244, 311–314.
— Irondequoit, location, 125.
— James, French expelled from, 314.
— Missisaguas. *See* Georgian Bay.

BAY

Bay Mortier, in Placentia Bay, 338; origin of name, 338.
— Noquet, 317.
— Notre Dame (Newfoundland), 333.
— de l'Ours qui Dort (Sleeping Bears). *See* Grand Traverse Bay.
— Papinachois, location, 261.
— Passamaquoddy, settlement, 324, 331.
— Placentia, location, 334; harbor of refuge, 335, 336; town on, 335; size, 335; harbor, 338.
— Quiberon, French harbor, 294.
— Quinté, mission at, 70; portage to, 318.
— Saginaw, size, 318; islands, 143, 318, 319; navigation, 318, 319; beaver hunting grounds, 481; Lahontan crosses, 143.
— St. Lawrence, in Placentia Bay, 338; ship-building at, 338.
— Savage, discovered by Anschild, 310.
— Seven Islands, location, 261.
— Thunder (Lake Huron), Lahontan passes, 143.
— Toronto, size, 317; location, 317, 318; projected fort on, 273, 318. *See also* Georgian Bay.
— Trepassey, location, 334.
— White (Newfoundland), 308.
Bayonne, port of departure for Canada, 373; brandy exported from, 375; harbor, 622; harbor improved by Lahontan, ix, xxi, 150; grant of, ix; bourgeois, ix; money seized at, xxi, 151; Lahontan at, 698.
Beads, Venetian, in fur-trade, 378.
Beans, raised by Indians, 148; at Green Bay, 168; on River Long, 187.
Bearberry. *See* Sacacommis.
Bearn, engineering works at, xxi, 150; justice of, 151; parlement at Pau, 150, 707; French officer from, 328, 329; Lahontan a native of, ix; reformer-general, ix; governor, x; commerce, 725; witchcraft, 696–710.

BEA

Bears, described, 115, 343, 346, 347; Polar, described, 344, 347, 348; hibernation, 115, 484; hunted, 114, 115, 346, 482–484; used for food, 115, 169, 482; near Fort St. Joseph, 484; price of skins, 380; Norwegian trade in skins, 681; not enemies of beaver, 480.
Beaucourt, Josué Dubois de Berthelot, sieur de, aids in fortifying Quebec, 265; commands party against Iroquois, 266; sketch, 266.
Beaujeu, —, commander of La Salle's vessel, 335.
Beauport. *See* Juchereau.
Beaupré, origin of name, 32; location, xii; habitants of, xii; Lahontan at, xii, 34–38; sketch, 34.
Beauvais, —, commandant at Fort St. Joseph, xviii.
Beauvilliers, Paul, duke of, French courtier, sketch, 227.
Beaver-eater. *See* Carcajou.
Beavers, described, 171–173; nearly extinct, 481, 483; habitat, 319, 326, 344, 481; homes of, 170, 171, 477, 479, 480; different kinds, 343, 345, 346; amphibious, 170, 476; land-beavers, 170, 171, 482, 484, 485; habits, 171–173, 479, 480; food, 371, 480, 482; sagacity, 8, 172, 476–478; make dams, 478, 479; sentinels, 477, 478, 480; tree-felling, 477, 480; domesticated, 170, 171; enemies, 480, 485; defenses, 480; parasites, 171; hunted, 82, 143, 171, 172, 175, 319, 349, 481–485, 507, 573–575; bait for, 171, 482, 483, 485; traps, 482–485; tail used for food, 169; flesh, 173; skins in commerce, 54, 91, 122, 377, 383, 591, 609; price, 54, 91, 101, 173, 379; compared with muskrats, 110; variety of pelts, 379; method of preparing, 485; valued, 172, 280, 398; farmers-general of, 382.

BEC

Becs de scie, species of duck, 352.
Beech, in Canada, 364.
Bees, in Canada, 352; sting, 357.
Bégon, Monsieur de, courtier of Louis XIV, 254.
Belin, Lahontan at, 648.
Belle Isle, French harbor, 294.
Benedictines, in Viana, 621, 622.
Beothics, aborigines of Newfoundland, 334; hatred of whites, 334; sketch, 334.
Beray, —, sieur, Biscayan captain, 288.
Bergères, Raymond Blaise des, sieur de Rigauville, commandant at Niagara, 162; seeks reinforcements, 162; sketch, 131.
Berlin (Wis.), on Fox River, 178.
Bernon, Samuel, chief merchant of Canada, 374.
Berrien County (Mich.), 208.
Berthelot, Canadian family, 39. *See also* Beauport.
Beschefer, Thierry, Jesuit missionary, starts for Canada, 259; superior at Quebec, 259; sketch, 259.
Biche, French name for elk, 103.
Bienville, Jean Baptiste le Moyne, sieur de, founds Louisiana, 74.
Biggar, H. P., *Early Trading Companies of New France*, 303.
Big Mouth. *See* Grangula.
Birch, of Canada, 364; described, 370.
Birch-bark, maps drawn on, 427; used for canoes, 63, 370; paper, 870; baskets, 370.
Bissot. *See* Jolliet, *and* Couillard.
Blackbirds, in Canada, 350.
Blueberries (bluets), in Canada, 365; described, 372; uses, 373; Indian food, 372.
Boat, —, wounded at Placentia, 279.
Boats, flat-bottomed, 85. *See also* Canoes.
Bodin (Bodinus), Jean, *Demonomanie des Sorciers*, 704.
Bois, L. E., *Isle d'Orleans*, 39.

BRA

"Bon," shipwrecked off Newfoundland, 336.
Bonaventure, Claude Denis, sieur de, announces Frontenac's restoration, 227; sketch, 227.
Bonnecamps, Father Joseph Pierre de, descends St. Lawrence, 68.
Bonrepos. *See* Dusson.
Bordeaux, port of departure for Canada, 88, 373; wines exported from, 375; Lahontan at, 697.
Bossuet, —, minister of state, 150.
Boston, revolution in, 265; fort in harbor, 265; French prisoners in, xxvi, 239, 265, 330; receives information, 265; capital of New England, 330; French inhabitants near, 330; undefended, 239; fleet at, 289; editions of Lahontan in Athenæum, liii–xciii; in Public Library, liii–xciii.
Boucher, Pierre, governor of Three Rivers, 98.
— family, 98.
Boucherville, Lahontan at, xiv, 96–117; review at, 103; La Forest, 125; sketch, 98.
Bouillon, Cardinal de, Lahontan's patron, 11.
Bourbon regiment, Lahontan in, x.
Bourke, John G., "Medicine Men of the Apache," 468.
Bouteux, fishing nets, described, 401.
Bouts de Quievres, small fishing nets, 402.
Bragelonne, Claude, relative of Lahontan, xi.
— family, relatives of Lahontan, xi, 253.
Branchus, species of duck, described 355; origin of name, 355.
Brandy, imported to Canada, 373; price, 375; valuable in fur-trade, 378, 568.
Brazil, Portuguese colony, 282, 284; aborigines of, 284; customs, 632; fleet, 624, 637.

BRE

Brébeuf, Jean de, authority on Huron-Iroquois language, 733.
Breccia, on Cape Breton, 333, 334.
Bretons, early explorers and fishers, 307, 308, 324.
Brigantine, built for Frontenac, 239, 241, 242; described, 402.
Brinton, D. G., *Myths of New World*, 435, 447, 448, 468, 472, 510.
British Museum, editions of Lahontan in, liii–xciii.
Brittany, Lahontan in, 264; harbor, 294; fishers from, 324. *See also* Bretons.
Brouillon, Jacques François de, governor of Placentia, xxix, 276, 287; defends Placentia against English, xxix, 276–278; Lahontan presents himself to, 287, 288; commends Lahontan, 279; dislikes Lahontan, xxxi, 12, 287–289; attempts to prevent Lahontan's escape, 294, 297; Lahontan accuses, xxxi, 289–294, 337, 338; accuses Lahontan at court, 293, 297; unpopular, xxxi, 292–294; extortionate, 288, 290, 337, 338; wife, 291; letters, 288; sketch 287, 288.
Brulots, in Canada, 352; described, 357, 358.
Bruyas, Father Jacques, Jesuit missionary, 56; superior, 56; aids in treaty of peace, 56; Indian grammar, 56; acts as interpeter, 84; sketch, 56.
Bryce, George, *Hudson's Bay Company*, 312, 314
Buffalo (Wild Beef), 343; on Mississippi, 170, 203; on River Long, 192, 197; on Missouri, 202; on Lake Erie, 320; hunted, 193, 194, 203; hunted by puma, 345; used in manufactures, 194, 213, 214; used as food, 197.
Bustards, Canadian resemble European, 351; in Wisconsin, 174; manner of hunting, 109.

CAN

Button, Sir Thomas, early English navigator, 310, 311.

CADDOAN family, tribes of, 200.
Cadillac, Antoine la Mothe, sieur de, founder of Detroit, xix, xlvi, 125, 133; secures upper country, xlvi.
California, Indian customs of, 473.
Callières-Bonnevue, Louis Hector, sieur de, governor of Montreal, 86, 88; governor of New France, 86, 129; on Denonville's expedition, 120; aids in defences of Quebec, 242; intercedes for English envoy, 246; sketch, 86.
Calumet, 58; described, 75, 76, 168, 169, 402; origin of name, 402; Indian name for, 402; uses, 75, 76, 423, 424; token of peace, 75, 77, 80, 81, 508, 509; sacred, 508; dance, 83; significance of dance, 168, 169; Foxes dance, 175; limit of authority, 189.
Camanistigoyan. *See* Kaministiquia.
Campbell, Henry C., "Radisson and Groseilliers," 312.
Canada, governor of, 153; Library of Parliament (Ottawa), editions of Lahontan in, liii–xciii; Indian department *Report*, 55; Royal Society *Proceedings*, xviii, lii, 36, 37, 51, 98, 145, 151, 312; *Archives*, xviii, 87, 125, 519 *See also* New France.
Canadian Journal, 154.
Canal, Cornwall, 68.
— Grenville, 217.
— Lachine, 67.
Canibas Indians, habitat, 327, 328; language, 339; allies of French, 328; characterized, 339.
Canissec, Count, Danish envoy, 688.
Canoes, how made, 63, 64; of birch-bark, 370; cedar, 63, 371; white wood, 372; skins, 106, 307, 481; gummed for water, 158; supports of,

CAN

Canoes (*continued*).
404, 406, 407; shape, 65; size, 62, 63; weight, 64; tonnage, 63; light draught, 63, 64; working of, 65, 66; unsteady, 62, 63; price, 65; Iroquois inferior, 138; used in war-parties, 501; not useful in discoveries, 211; travel in, 46, 62–65, 67; value of cargoes, 54, 64.
Cantabrian soldiers, defend Placentia, 276.
Capa y d'espada, term for councillors, 402.
Cape Diamond (Quebec), 265; place of execution, 268.
— Finisterre, Lahontan passes, 257, 258, 295, 649, 650.
— Forillon, off Gaspé, 306.
— Hurd, off Georgian Bay, 154.
— North, northern extremity of Europe, 301.
— Race, origin of name, 28; descried, 29; coast near, 334; longitude, 302.
— Ray, location, 30, 333; passage choked with ice, 325; coast near, 334.
— St. Francis. *See* Long Point.
— St. Mary (Newfoundland), 275.
— Tourmente, location, 32, 39, 261; origin of name, 32.
— West, in Iceland, 301.
Cap Rogo. *See* Cape Race.
Caps, in fur-trade, 377.
Carcajous, characterized, 344; hunted, 111.
Caribou, identified, 107; habitat, 316, 344; manner of hunting, 107; price of skins, 380.
Carignan-Saliéres, regiment de, in Canada, 35, 36, 52, 59; members perish with cold, 60; officers, 125, 328; disbanded, 328; sketch, 36.
Carolina, early explorations of coast, 303; parrots in, 354.
Carp, in Great Lakes, 359; Mississippi, 359; described, 362.

CED

Cascades, St. Lawrence rapids, portage of, 67.
Carter-Brown Library, editions of Lahontan in, liii–xciii.
Cartier, Jacques, explores St. Lawrence, 31, 303; gives geographical names, 31, 39, 51, 261, 324; second voyage, 67, 303; alludes to Niagara, 137; accounts of, 303; explorations, 303; sketch, 303; *Voyages*, 303.
Cartography, xxxviii, 8–10, 28, 200, 208, 376.
Casson de Dollier, François, Sulpitian superior, 55; chaplain in Mohawk campaign, 55; accompanies La Salle, 55; historian of Montreal, 55.
Castor canadensis, 345.
Castor gras d'hiver. *See* Beaver skins.
Cataracoui. *See* Fort Frontenac.
Cataract du Trou, St. Lawrence rapid, 67.
Catholic University *Bulletin*, 512.
Catlin, George, explores quarries at Pipestone, 76.
Catlinite, used for calumets, 76.
Caton, John D., *Antelope and Deer of North America*, 103.
Caudisona terguemina, 357.
Caughnawaga, mission village at, 56.
Cavelier, Abbé Jean, brother of La Salle, arrives at Mackinac, xxi, 144; Sulpitian, 145; sketch, 145.
— Jean, nephew of La Salle, at Mackinac, xxi, 144; sketch, 145.
Cayuga (Goyoguans) Indians, 77, 80; habitat, 58, 323, 341; language, 341; fishing grounds, 155, 156; chief of, 233; request missionaries, 70; English should remove, 399.
— County Historical Society, *Collections*, 127, 131.
Cedar, of Canada, 365; described, 371; two species, 371; used for canoes, 63, 371; odor of, 371.
Cedars, rapids in Fox River, 174.

CEL

Céloron, Jean Baptiste de Blainville, wife of, 391.
Cenis Indians, mission to, 145.
Central America, Indian customs of, 473.
Cervus alches, 103; *canadensis*, 103; *virginianus*, 107.
Chalumeau. *See* Calumet.
Chambly, Jacques de, Canadian officer, 52.
Chambly. *See* Fort Chambly.
Champigny, Jean Bochart de, intendant of New France, 102, 120; advances to Fort Frontenac, 120, 121; voyage to Montreal, 239; Lahontan visits, 220; sketch, 103.
— Madam de, intercedes for Iroquois prisoners, 266, 267; mercy of, 269.
Champlain, Samuel de, gives geographical names, 32, 51, 66, 118, 325; builds Fort St. Louis, 40; controls liquor traffic, 94; hears of Niagara, 137; visits Huron, 219; founds Quebec, 303, 331; explores Bay of Fundy, 324, 331; discovery celebrated, 324; map, 325; makes enemies of Iroquois, xv.
Chaouanon, Indian slave, 156.
Chapeau Rouge, location, 334, 338.
Charles II (England), orders peace with Iroquois, 61, 79; subservient to France, 61; patronizes Radisson and Groseilliers, 313; sells part of Newfoundland, 275.
Charlevoix, Pierre François Xavier de, Jesuit historian, 42, 44, 149; describes Nipissing, 342; exposes fallacy of River Long, xxxix; *Histoire de Nouvelle France*, 149, 217, 279; *Journal Historique*, xxxix, 42.
Chateaubriand, François Auguste, vicomte de, French romanticist, xlviii.
Chauanon Indians. *See* Shawnee Indians.
Chequamegon, French post on, 315.

COD

Cherries, of Canada, 364, 365; described, 366, 367.
Chestnuts, of Canada, 364; on Lake Erie, 319; in Seneca country, 131; in Illinois, 367.
Chevaliers, species of water-fowl, 351.
Chicago (Chekakou), Indians at, 340; Lahontan, 207; site described, 207; portage, xxiv, 207; canal, 207.
Chicoutimi County (Quebec), 260.
China, passage to, sought, 309.
Chipmunk, described, 348.
Chippewa (Salteur) Indians, French name for, 149, 340; habitat, 149, 152, 493; physical characteristics, 415; brave, 159, 160; courtship and marriage among, 457; war customs, 502–509; secret society among, 468; totems, 511; calendar, 427, 428; with Iroquois, xxii, 149, 153–161; capture Iroquois, 159; rescue slaves, 160; at Fort St. Joseph, 161; warn Foxes of Iroquois raid, 489, 493; war with Foxes, 489, 494; characterized, 340.
Chonkasketons (Sonkaskiton) Indians, Siouan tribe, 343; significance of name, 343; habitat, 342; language, 343.
Christianity, discussion of, 517–550.
Christy, Miller, *Voyages of Captain Luke Foxe and Captain Thomas James*, 310.
Citrons. *See* Mandrake.
Citrouille, in Canada, 364; described, 369; Indian food, 148, 369.
Clarke, John M., "Percé: a brief sketch of its geology," 305.
Coal, exported from Canada, 374.
Cockles, in Canada, 359, 361.
Cod, in Canada, 358; export, 374; demand for, 394; method of drying, 336.
Cod fishery, off Newfoundland, 27, 290, 305, 308, 332, 333, 336, 337; off

COD

Cod fishery (*continued*).
Gaspé, 305, 306; near St. Lawrence, 306; off Acadia, 324, 326; Tadoussac, 31; time for, 337; bait, 337, 360, 361; value, 338.
Colbert, Jean Baptiste, French minister, 118.
Colin, —, Indian interpreter, accompanies d'Aux, 238.
Collars. *See* Wampum.
Collection des Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France, 26, 124, 257.
Comitatus, among Indians, 500.
Commerce, 235; merchants at Montreal, 53, 96, 97; profits of, 54, 375–377; exchange with France, 101, 376; general view, 373–378; few exports, 373, 374; with French West Indies, 374; season for, 375; internal, 376; reform needed, 391, 392; customs tariff, 373. *See also* fur-trade.
Compagnie des Indes Occidentales, 91.
Company of Domain, 91.
— of Merchants of London, discoverers of North-West Passage, 312.
— of One Hundred Associates, xi, 34, 253.
— of New France, 41, 303; founded at Rouen, 303.
Compass, variation of, 403.
Conestoga Indians, Huron-Iroquois tribe, habitat, 321.
Congés. *See* Licenses for fur-trade.
Connecticut, Indians of, 90; troops to invade Canada, 240.
Conurus carolinensis, 354.
Cook, Samuel F., *Drummond Island*, 153.
Coots, Canadian resemble European, 350.
Copper, used by Indians, 195; found on Lake Superior, 316; purity of ore, 316.
Coregonus clupeiformus, 147.

COU

Corlaer, Indian title for governor of New York, 82, 84, 236; origin of term, 82.
Corlear. *See* Schenectady.
Cormaillon, — de, French officer in Danish army, 674.
Cormorants, in Canada, 351.
Costabelle, sieur Pastour de, governor of Placentia, 276; of Cape Breton, 276; envoy to English, 276, 277; sketch, 276.
Côtes of Canada, described, 34, 35.
Coues, Elliott, *Early History of Northwest*, 474; identifies River Long, xl.
Couillard, Marie, mother-in-law of Jolliet, captured by English, 243, 244; effects exchange of prisoners, 244, 249; sketch, 244.
Courbeious (bird), in Canada, 351.
Courcelles, Daniel de Rémy, sieur de, war with Mohawk, 59; recommends site of Fort Frontenac, 69; sketch, 59.
Coureurs de bois, 48, 430; term defined, 403; bravery of, 237; reliability, 477; thievery, 100, 537; pordigality, 54; in fur-trade, xviii, 54, 92, 99, 140, 153, 164, 168, 207, 315, 430; extent of ranging, 304; restricted, 99, 399; on Great Lakes, 125; Lake Superior, 315; Mackinac, 136; Maine, 236, 237; New York, 236; Sault Ste. Marie, 488, 489; Illinois, 207; commandants, 164, 165, 209, 217; protected by Perrot, 53; under Duluth, 73; enemies of English, 125–128, 209, 216, 247; garrison Fort St. Joseph, 139; repair Fort Frontenac, 232, 233; aid Lahontan, 141; captured by Iroquois, 270; robbed by Iroquois, 77.
Couttes (Ecouttes), Abbé de, uncle of Lahontan, xxvi, 253, 254.
— Jeanne Françoise le Fascheux de, Lahontan's mother, x.

COW

Cowper, Capt. —, English naval officer, 650.
Coyne, James H., "Exploration of Great Lakes," 484.
Crabs, in Canada, 359.
Cranes, in Canada, 350.
Cree Indians. *See* Cristinaux Indians.
Creek Cattaraugus, portage route, 155.
— Chautauqua, portage route, 155.
— Irondequoit, rendezvous for expedition, 125–127; fort at, 127.
— Mill (Pa.), identified, 155.
— Wood, rendezvous for troops, 240.
Crenger, —, ship commander, 648.
Creoles, defined, 402.
Cristinaux (Clistino, Cree, Killistinoe) Indians, Algonquian tribe, 343; habitat, 309, 342; physical traits, 415; language, 342, 343; defeat Eskimo, 308, 309; conduct French to Hudson Bay, 312; associated with Assiniboin, 343; present numbers, 309; sketch, 309.
Croche, rapids in Fox River, 174.
Crocodiles, described, 346, 347; habitat, 343, 346; capture of, 346; man-eaters, 346; Arkansa kill, 204.
Cucurbita polymorpha, 148.
Cungars, in Canada, 358.
Cutlasses, in fur-trade, 378.
Cuyler, —, early Dutch trader, 82.

DABS (fish), described, 362; in Mississippi River, 178, 359; in Great Lakes, 362.
Dakota Indians. *See* Sioux Indians.
D'Amblemont, —, commands reinforcements, 119.
Danes, discover Labrador, 307; reputed discoveries, 309, 310.
Danoncaritaoui, Seneca village, 131
Davis, John, early English navigator, 310
—, Sylvanus, narrates fall of Fort Loyal, 237.

DEN

DeCosta, Benjamin F., *Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson*, 309.
Deer, described, 348, 349; hunted in Denmark, 669; Newfoundland, 332; Canada, 343, 344; near Lake Champlain, xiv, 108, 109; Lake Huron, 317; Lake Erie, 320, 322; Lake Michigan, 210; Wisconsin, 174, 175; Illinois, 206; River Long, 183, 187; manner of hunting, 107, 113, 114; used as food, 70, 114, 122, 467, 468, 482; skins, 193, 213, 491; price, 380.
Dekanissore. *See* Teganisoreu.
Denis, —, captured by Iroquois, 224.
Denmark, character of people, 669–672; government, 673; court, 667, 668, 675, 676; royal tombs, 685; society, 672, 673; cost of living, 681; army, 673, 674; pay of officers, 674, 681; navy, 679–682; laws, 675; monetary system, 682, 683; measures, 683; wines, 671; beer, 671; drunkenness, 671, 672; diseases, 676–678; horses, 684; export articles, 681; exact ship toll, 679, 680; dependencies, 664; explorers, 309, 310; Lahontan in, xxxiii, lxi, 9, 664–683.
— king of, 3, 4; character, 667; hunter, 669; marksman, 669; linguist, 667; royal residences, 666, 668, 684; natural children, 676; revenues, 673, 674; retinue, 684; Lahontan meets, 679
Denonville, Jacques René de Brisay, marquis de, governor of New France, 97; destroys Fort Frontenac, 69, 209, 225, 226, 271; fortifies Montreal, 98; reinforced from upper lakes, xviii, 73, 125, 126; arranges a review, 103; expedition against Indians, xv, 118–134; relations with intendant, 103; retains Lahontan, xvi, 118, 121; sends him to upper country, xvii, 132, 133, 151; visited

DEN

Denonville (*continued*).
by Lahontan, 219, 220; plans defense of upper lakes, xviii, 139; sends messenger to Mackinac, 144, 208; orders Lahontan to Quebec, xxii, 164; Lachine massacre, 224–226; La Tourette reports to, 136; promises reinforcements, 141; commissions officers, 164; arranges peace, xxii, 157, 162, 163, 208, 209, 221, 223; relations with Adario, 208, 209, 220–223; serves on expedition, 237; recalled to France, xxv, 227, 228, 234; last interview with Frontenac, 235; sketch, 97, 98.
— Marchioness de, 97, 98, 234; fears Iroquois, 224.
De Pere (Wis.), mission near, 168; rapids, 174.
Desnots (Hainault), —, French officer, 86, 87, 91, 98.
Des Ormeaux, Daulac (Dollard), defends Long Sault, 217.
Detroit, founded, xix; country described, 139; fruit near, 139; animals, 139; Indians, 155; projected post, 125, 133, 273.
Devonshire, William Cavendish, duke of, dedication to, 3; patron of Lahontan, xxxiv; sketch, 3.
Didelphys virginiana, 347.
Dieppe, port of departure for Canada, 373; birthplace of Longueuil, 74.
Digby (N. S.), described, 331; Gut, outlet of Port Royal basin, 331.
Dionne, —, curator of Laval University, identifies fauna, 110, 111.
— Narcisse E., bibliography of Lahontan, lii, liii; "Chouart et Radisson," 312; *Jacques Cartier*, 303; *Quebec under Two Flags*, 41.
Do, Chevalier. *See* d'Aux.
Dogs, used in hunting, 105, 111, 114, 349; for drawing sledges, 406; as carriers, 45.

DUL

Dollard. *See* Des Ormeaux.
Dongan, Thomas, governor of New York, 61, 126, 157; plans to control fur-trade, 61, 126; complains of Fort Niagara, 131; sketch, 61.
D'Opede, —, Portuguese ambassador, 628.
Dorman, Rushton M., *Origin of Primitive Superstitions among Aborigines of America*, 435, 450.
Dorsey, James Owen, "Migrations of Siouan Tribes," 200, 204; "Omaha Sociology," 499, 509.
D'Orveilliers, François Chorel, sieur de, *dit* St. Romain, commands rearguard, 127; sketch, 127.
Douay, Father Anastase, La Salle's chaplain, at Mackinac, 144, 145; founds mission to Cenis Indians, 145; sketch, 145; *Memoir*, 145.
Doughty, Arthur G., *Quebec under Two Flags*, 41.
Doves. *See* Pigeons.
Druillettes, Gabriel, Jesuit missionary, 329, 330.
Drummond, Sir Gordon, governor of Canada, 153.
Duchesneau, Jacques, sieur de la Dousinière, intendant of New France, 228; favors Jesuits, 228, 381; opposes Frontenac, 228, 381; recalled, 228; sketch, 228.
Ducks, Canadian resemble European, 350; described, 355; color, 350, 355; varieties, 351, 352, 354; on River Long, 183, 187; manner of hunting, 109; used for food, 431.
Du Creux, François. *Historiæ Canadensis seu Novæ Franciæ*, 412.
Duelling, in Hamburg, 660.
Dugmore, Arthur R., "The Outlaw; a character study of a Beaver," 477.
Du Luth (Du l'Hut, Du Lhut, Duluth), Daniel Greysolon, familiar with continental interior, xxxix, xl, 315; re-

DUL

Du Luth (*continued*).
inforcements for La Barre, 72, 73; aids Denonville, 73, 209; captures English traders, 126; posts on Lake Superior, 315, 316; among Sioux, 73; Lahontan with, xviii, 133, 140, 216; D'Ailleboust with, 233; builds fort, xviii, 136, 139; at Fort St. Joseph, xx, 139; with war party, 209; his uncle, 136; his brother, 135, 136; sketch, 73.
Dumeni, —, French officer in Danish army, 674.
Durantaye, Olivier Morel de la, brings aid to Denonville, xviii, 125; captures English traders, 125; commandant at Mackinac, 144, 164, 209; commander of coureurs de bois, 164; takes possession of upper country, xviii; sketch, 125.
Du Rivau Huet, —, French officer, 86, 87, 92, 98.
Dusson, François, sieur de Bonrepaux, ambassador to Denmark, Lahontan meets, xxxiii, 665, 666, 671, 685; at Coldinck, 684; Glucstat, 688; letter to Pontchartrain, 688, 694; sketch, 665.
Du Tas (Tartre), —, Canadian officer, 68, 69, 260.
Dutch, explorations, 309; in New York, 6, 7; name for Indians, 320.

Eagles, described, 353, 354; in Canada, 350.
Ecclesiastics, condemn Lahontan, 10; Lahontan dislikes, xv, 41, 98; interfere in private affairs, xv, 88–90, 383, 384, 391; control Canadian government, 381, 382, 385; confidence in, 383. *See also* New France.
Ecouttes. *See* Couttes.
Ectopistes migratoria, 110.
Edits et Ordonnances, 384.

ENG

Edwards, Jonathan, writings of, 734.
Eels, in Canada, 358; River St. Lawrence, 401; Great Lakes, 359; manner of catching, 49, 50, 401.
Elephant, Knights of the Order of, 675, 676, 679.
Eliot, John, writings of, 734.
Elks (Originals), described, 104, 105; identified, 103; on St. Lawrence islands, 31; Lake Superior, 316; Lahontan hunts, xiv, 103; manner of hunting, 103–107, 112, 349, 476; skins, 106, 213; Norwegian trade in skins, 681; price of skins, 380; used as food, 468.
Elms, Canadian resemble European, 364; on Lake Erie, 319; bark used for building, 418; for canoes, 319.
Embroideries, Canadian imports of, 375.
Encyclopedists, relations with Lahontan, xlvii.
England, rulers of, 3; in War of Spanish Succession, 5; liberty in, 12; defeated in West Indies, 26; claims Great Lakes country, 127; visited by Lahontan, xxxiv, lxi.
English, in fur-trade, xviii, 78, 81, 82, 98, 125, 126, 281, 311–314, 326, 395, 398–400; furnish cheap goods, 98, 99, 281, 326, 394, 396; fleet invades Canada, 31; capture Quebec (1628), 44, (1759), 42; capture Port Royal, 244, 326, 330; to acquire Acadia, 326; revolution of 1688, 3, 217, 218; attempted capture of Canada (1690), xxvi, 240, 242–250; capture Fort Frontenac (1758), 69; capture Fort Niagara (1759), 131; imprison St. Vallier, 165; in Hudson Bay, 217, 236, 244, 311–314; allied with Iroquois, 58, 59, 237, 238; settlements in Newfoundland, 332; attack on Placentia, xxix, 275–279, 281, 287–289, 292; capture Perrot,

ENG

English (*continued*).
53; alliance with France, 218; sea-fight, 259, 260; raid into Canada, 262; attack St. John, 325; brave but ill-disciplined, 247, 248; colonists characterized, 399; privateers, 650, 651; in Maine, 236; colonial boundaries, 301, 302; explorations for Northwest Passage, 310.

Enjalran, Father Jean, wounded in Denonville's expedition, 129; at Durantaye's prise-de-possession, xviii; missionary at Mackinac, xviii; superior for upper country, xviii; sketch, 129.

Eokoros, xxxix, xlii; country of, 176; language, 185; numbers, 180, 182; characteristics, 182, 189; houses, 182; government, 182; enemies, 181; Lahontan among, xxiv, 180–182.

Erasmus, translated by Gueudeville, xlv; house at Rotterdam, 652.

Erie Indians, habitat, 320.

Errieronon Indians, language of, 733.

Eskimo, described, 306, 307; habitat, 306, 309; numbers, 308; language, 342; treacherous, 308; cowardly, 308; boats, 307, 308; incursions by, 305; pursued by Cristinaux, 308, 309; cross to Newfoundland, 309, 334.

Esleich, barony of, x.

Espadon. *See* Sword-fish.

Essanape Indians, habitat, 181, 184–186; numbers, 184; language, 747; capital of, 186, 188; cacique, 186–189; superstitions, xxxix, xlii, 189; government, 186; allies, 187; enemies, 181, 182, 187; boats, 187, 188; houses, 188; unused to firearms, 188; Lahontan with, xxiv, 182–189, 197; presents to, 187.

Estrees, Abbé d', Portuguese ambassador, Lahontan with, 628, 713; befriends French, 643.

FOR

Etechemin (Quoddy) Indians, characterized, 339; habitat, 339, 340; language, 339; nomads, 339.

Explorations, early French, 303, 304; qualities needed in explorers, 210–215; methods of management, 210–215; equipment needful, 213, 214. *See also* the several explorers.

Fallen Timbers, battle of, 461.

Fasting, among Jesuits, 534, 538.

Felis concolor, 345.

Fenelon, François de Salignac, Jansenist writer, 11.

Fer, Nicolas de, cartographer, 8.

Ferland, J. B. A., *Cours d'Histoire du Canada*, 304.

Ferns, maiden-hair, 365; described, 372; syrup made from, 372.

Ferrets, in Canada, 343.

Fiber zibethicus, 111.

Fir, of Canada, 365; described, 371; timber made from, 371; in Wisconsin, 177; on River Long, 180.

Fish, as food, 70, 122, 431; in Great Lakes, xix, 359; River Long, 179; gold-colored in St. Lawrence, 358, 361; armed fish in Great Lakes, 359, 362; enemies, 362.

Fish-hooks, in fur-trade, 377.

Fishing, methods at Mackinac, 147, 148.

Flint stones, in fur-trade, 377.

Florida, parrots in, 354.

Flying-squirrels, described, 348; in Canada, 344.

Folles-Avoine. *See* Wild Rice.

Folles-Avoines Indians. *See* Menominee Indians.

Forest, François Dauphine, sieur de la, La Salle's lieutenant, 124; brings message to Denonville, 124, 125; granted Fort St. Louis, xviii, 125, 133; at Detroit, xviii, 125; rebuilds Fort Miami, 208; sketch, 125.

FOR

Fort Abittibi, location, 342.
— Albany (Ste. Anne), Iberville captures, 217; messengers from, 217.
— Bougio, on River Taio, 649.
— Bourbon, Radisson builds, 313; captured for English, 313.
— Chambly, location, 52; described, 90, 91; fear of attack on, 262; Lahontan at, xiii, 90, 91; trade, 90, 91.
— Charles, Hudson Bay, 313.
— Crêvecœur, destroyed, 207, 208; sketch, 207.
— Frontenac, 79, 323; description and sketch, 69; built, 61, 69, 70; importance of, 226, 271; La Barre at, xiii, 69; fur-trade of, 75, 83; destroyed, 69, 209, 226, 233, 395; restored, 68, 69, 233; untenable, 69, 225, 226, 271; captured by English, 69; vessels near, 395; commandant at, 73, 125, 127, 162; rendezvous for Denonville's expedition, xvi, 119–121, 126; Lahontan at, xiii, 57, 68–72, 677; peace conference at, 61, 69, 83; reinforcement sought, 134, 162; garrison supplied by Indians, 122; scurvy at, 162; suicide, 368; messenger to, 226; raid towards, 266; visited by Adario, 220.
— Gratiot (Mich.), French fort on site of, 139.
— Kennebec. *See* Fort Loyal.
— La Tourette, on Lake Nipigon, 136.
— Loyal (Kennebec, Maine), location, 236; French attack on, 236; English narrative of capture, 237; surrender, 237; flag of, at Quebec, 237.
— Mackinac, Indians near, 73. *See* also Mackinac.
— Miami, built by La Salle, 208; destroyed, 208; rebuilt, 208.
— Nelson, attacked, 313; sketch, 313.
— Niagara, 323; built by Denonville, xvi, 131; importance of, 131, 226, 271; Lahontan at, xix, 135, 677;

FOU

Fort Niagara (*continued*).
besieged by Iroquois, 141, 142; commandants of, 131; Miamis at, 161–163; sickness, xxii, 162; pleases Indian allies, 132; abandoned, xxii, 162, 163, 226, 271; history, 131.
— Pemaquid. *See* Pemaquid.
— Pentagoët, location, 328.
— Rémy, besieged by Iroquois, 224.
— Rolland, besieged by Iroquois, 224; Lahontan protects, 240; sketch, 240.
— Ste. Anne. *See* Albany.
— St. Joseph, site, xviii, 139, 208, 318, 320; built, xviii, 139; described, xviii, xxxvii, 139, 140; commanded by Beauvais, xviii; surrendered to Lahontan, xx, 139, 140; Lahontan winters at, xx, 140–143, 149, 484; Lahontan leaves, xx, 143; abandoned, xxii, xxiii, xli, 152, 163; revictualed, xxii, 155; Lahontan returns, xxii, 161; restored, 272, 273; Indians near, 418, 484; bears, 484.
— St. Julien, Lisbon fortification, 640.
— St. Louis (Ill.), site, 207; Tonty commands, 125, 133, 207; La Forest commands, xviii, 125.
— St. Louis (Newfoundland), 275; location, 275, 335; poorly garrisoned, 275; bombarded, 278; Lahontan flees to, 348.
— St. Louis (Quebec), described, 40, 41; governor's residence, 235, 382; repaired by Frontenac, 235.
— Sorel. *See* Sorel.
— Supposé, projected forts, 272, 318, 321.
— William, site of, 316.
Forts, projected by Lahontan, 272, 273, 280; early French, xxxix; barriers against Iroquois, 52; near mouth of Ohio (1702), 144.
Foutereaux, described, 110, 344; identified, 111.

FOX

Fox (Outagami, Renard) Indians, characterized, 341; habitat, 34, 168, 175, 478; language, 176, 177, 341; physical traits, 415; calendar of, 427; totems, 511; village, 175, 177; relations with Sioux, 175, 176; war with Iroquois, 489–494, 502; relations with Chippewa, 489, 493, 494; relations with French, xlvi, 99, 175, 176; with Eokoros, 176; with Sauk, 175; Lahontan among, xxiv, xli, 175, 176, 179–207, 448; return to Wisconsin, 207.

Fox-Wisconsin fur-trade route, nearest to Mississippi, 168, 178; portage, described, 177, 178; Lahontan at, 177; canal at, xxiv, 177; history, 177, 178.

Foxes, habitat, 347; described, 343, 347; color, 343, 344, 347; value of skins, 347, 376, 379; Norwegian trade in skins, 681; traps for, 482–484; do not attack beaver, 480.

Franciscans. *See* Recollects.

Franquelin, J. B., cartographer, 41.

Frederick IV of Denmark, Lahontan's patron, 3, 4.

France, ministers, 5; diplomats, 12; West Indian colonies, 26; carpenters, 658; alliance with Spain, 5; at war with Spain, 191; English alliance, 217, 218; refugees in Denmark, 668; in Holland, 655.

French, laws compared with savage polity, 551–570; religious and social customs compared with savage, 517–550; language spoken in Denmark, 669; diseases, 593–605; witchcraft among, 562–564, 566; drunkenness, 566; immorality, 536–538, 540–546, 566, 567; first settlement in Canada, 331; Newfoundland, 333, 334; possessions in America, 334; take possession of Northwest, 342.

Frogs, in Canada, 352, 357.

FUR

Frontenac, Louis Baude, count de, arrival at Quebec, 230, 231; replaces Courcelle, 59, 60, 69; superseded by La Barre, xi, 26, 33, 381; relations with intendant, 103; restored to governorship, xxv, 227, 228; opposed by Duchesneau, 228, 381; by Jesuits, 227, 381; favors Recollects, 43, 44, 70, 413; during Phips's raid, xxvi, 237–247; relations with Iroquois, xxv, 59–61, 69, 73, 86, 124, 232–234, 266, 267; favors La Salle, 33, 69; quarrels with Perrot, 53; praises Valrennes, 226; builds Chateau St. Louis, 41, 235; builds Fort Frontenac, 69, 70, 232; fortifies Quebec, 263, 265; warmly welcomed, xxv, 228, 230, 231; relations with Lahontan, xxv–xxix, xlv, xlvi, 230, 232, 237, 250, 252, 256, 257, 262, 271, 272, 274, 280, 388–390; promotes discovery, 60; esteemed by Indians, xxv, 228; power of appointment, 257; hospitality, xxvii, 262; courtesy to English prisoners, xxviii, 265; controls sovereign council, 44, 45; issues trading licenses, 99; relations to liquor traffic, 94; visits Montreal, 231; relation to Adario, lxi, 9, 149; to Teganisoren, 222; to Oureahé, 233, 234; interview with Denonville, 234; services to New France, xxxvii, 60; sketch, 60.

— Countess de, 267.

Fruit trees, in Acadia, 325; on Lake Erie, 319, 322; on Lake St. Clair, xx; in Illinois, 206.

Furs, chief article of export, 374; medium of exchange, 376; names and prices, 379, 380.

Fur-trade, importance to Indians, 507; harmful to them, 577; important to Canada, 99, 280, 394; licenses for, 99–101, 384, 386; goods used in, 308, 377, 378; English goods cheap,

FUR

Fur-trade (*continued*)
59, 98, 281, 326, 394; Indians pay large prices, 59; prices of furs, 379, 380; cheating, 421, 422; illegal, 91; monopoly, 9; rivalry, 61, 326, 394; profits, 100, 101, 376; French officials in, 53, 54, 102, 326; Jesuits, 385, 386; English, 59, 61, 78, 82, 90, 91, 98, 125, 126, 131, 281, 316; coureurs de bois, 77, 92, 146, 153, 164, 168, 207, 395; in Acadia, 326, 331; Anticosti, 305; off Labrador, 307–309; Tadoussac, xxxvii, 31; Chambly, 90, 91; at Montreal, 92–95, 240; with Lake Indians, xviii, 53, 54, 60, 153, 377; Green Bay, 168; Lake Superior, 315, 316; Illinois, 207; in war-time, 241; in Norway, 681; Iroquois wish to control, 26, 59, 78; promoted by Frontenac, 60; forts to control, 131.
Fusees, in fur-trade, 377.

Gagnon, Ernest, "Louis Jolliet," 244; *Le Fort et le Chateau St. Louis*, 41.
— Philéas, *Essai de Bibliographie Canadienne*, lii.
Galette, location, 86.
Game, in Newfoundland, 332; wild fowl numerous in Canada, 109, 110; wood fowl used as food, 482. *See also* the several birds and animals.
Ganeausse, location, 122; Indian village, 121; Cayuga mission, 70.
Ganondaoe, Indian word for calumet, 402.
Gaspé, significance of term, 306; island near, 305; fisheries off, 305, 306; vessel from, 259; present conditions, 306; native of, 340.
Gasperots, small fish, 358; described, 360; used as bait, 360.
Gaspesian Indians, language, 339; numbers, 340; characteristics, 340; fur-trade with, 306; sketch, 340.

GRE

Geese, in Canada, 350, 351; color, 350, 351; manner of hunting, 109; used for food, 431; on River Long, 183, 186.
George I of England, protector of Lahontan, xxxiii, xxxiv.
George II of England, lake named for, 91.
Girouard, Désiré, *Lake St. Louis*, 224, 240.
Gnacsitare Indians, habitat, 187, 192, 193; language, 747; characteristics, 187, 191, 195; hospitality, 192; ignorant of calumet, 189; manner of hunting, 193; power of chief, 191, 192, 197; allies of Essanapes, 187; enemies, 187, 194; dread Spaniards, 190, 191; Lahontan among, xxiv, xxxix, 190–195.
Gnats, in Canada, 352.
Gomara, François Lopez de, *Histoire Généralle des Indes Occidentalis et Terres neuves*, 307.
"Good," vessel. *See* "Bon."
Gooseberries, described, 372; in Canada, 364, 365, 369; useless, 369, 372; vinegar made from, 372.
Goyogoan Indians. *See* Cayuga Indians.
Grand Chute, rapids in Fox River, 174.
— Portage, location, 316.
Grandville, —, captured by English, 243.
Grangula, Iroquois chief, 7; embassador to La Barre, 74, 75; speeches of, 79–84; dances, 84, 85; sketch, 74.
Grant, —, on courtship and marriage, 457.
Grape-vines, described, 368; in Canada, 364; fruit, 368; on Lake Erie, 319; in Illinois, 206.
Grave, la grand, at Placentia, 336.
"Great Lake," Indian term for Europe, 533.
Great Lakes, Indians upon, 26, 60; discoveries of, 60, 484; navigation, 64;

GRE

Great Lakes (*continued*).
fur-trade, 78; fish, 359, 361–363; claimed by French, 78; forts to guard, 273; Iroquois bar French from, 218. *See also* the several lakes.
— Mohawk, Iroquois chief, 239.
Green Bay (La Baie), mission at, 168.
Greenland, birds migrate from, 356.
Gregory. *See* MacGregory.
Grelans, in Canada, 351; described, 355.
Grelins episses, term explained, 260.
Grenada, French colony at, 52.
Groseilliers, Médard Chouart de, in Wisconsin, 177; visits Hudson Bay, 312; on Lake Superior, 312, 315; proposals rejected by French, 313; erects Hudson Bay post, 313; sketch, 312.
Gros-Ventre (Big-bellied) Indians, captured by Iroquois, 159; rescued by Chippewa, 160.
Ground-squirrel, described, 348.
Grouse, in Canada, 353.
Gudgeons, in Wisconsin lakes, 174, 359.
Guérin, Jeanne, wife of baron Lahontan, ix.
Gueudeville, Nicolas, Lahontan's work ascribed to, xliv, xlv; *L'Esprit des Cours de l'Europe*, xlv; *Atlas Historique*, xlv; sketch, xliv, xlv.
Guiche, Count de, sponsor for Lahontan, x.
Guiscard, Count de, Lahontan's patron, 11.
Guldenlew, — de, viceroy of Norway, 670; title, 676; Lahontan meets, 671.
Gulf of Mexico, receives Mississippi, 32; La Salle's colony upon, xii, 33, 335.
— St. Lawrence, 274; cod-fishing in, 324; islands, 324; traversed by Lahontan, 30, 31.
Gull-fish, in Great Lakes, 359.
Gulo luscus, 111.

HER

Hainaut. *See* Desnots.
Hakluyt Society, *Publications*, 309, 310, 312.
Hale, Horatio, "Indian Wampum Records," 76.
Hannay, James, *Acadia*, 330.
Hanover, elector of, protects Lahontan, xxxiii, xxxiv.
Hares, in Newfoundland, 332; on St. Lawrence, 266; in Canada, 343; on River Long, 183; white, 344, 348; used as food, 105, 106, 482.
Harisse, Henry, *Découverte et Evolution cartographique de Terre-Neuve*, 28, 30, 324; *Discovery of North America*, 303; *Notes sur la Nouvelle France*, lii.
Harper's Magazine, 73, 479.
Harvard College Library, editions of Lahontan in, liii–xciii.
Havre de barre. *See* Bar Haven.
— de Grace, port of departure for Canada, 373.
Hawley, Charles, *Cayuga History*, 72; "Jesuit Missions among Senecas," 131.
"Hazardous," French man-of-war, 260.
Hazel-trees, Canadian resemble European, 364.
Hearne, Samuel, describes beavers, 480.
Heath-cocks, Canadian resemble European, 351.
Hemlock spruce (épinette), 365; described, 371.
Hennepin, Louis, dedicates book to English king, 3; at Fort Frontenac, 70; omits mention of River Long, xxxviii; Indians mentioned by, xxxix; describes falls of Niagara, xix, 137; *Description de la Louisiane*, 413; *New Discovery*, 70, 77, 131, 145, 152, 200, 413.
Henry, Alexander, *Travels*. *See* Bain (ed.).
Herns, in Canada, 351.

HER

Herring, in Canada, 358; in Newfoundland, 333; in Great Lakes, 359; used as bait, 360.
Historical Magazine, 155.
Hoffman, W. J., "Midewiwin of the Ojibwa," 468; "Native Indian Pictographs," 512.
Holland, canals of, 652; monetary system, 655, 656; weights and measures, 656; inns, 655; boats, 652, 656, 657; wines, 663; Lahontan in, 651–659.
Homer, read by Lahontan, xiv, 116, 306, 307.
Honeoye Falls (N. Y.), Indian villages near, 131.
"Honoré," vessel, Lahontan on, 257–262.
Horse-chestnuts. *See* Chestnuts of Illinois.
Hospitalières, at Quebec, 44.
"Hoy," vessel, described, 693.
Huards, described, 353; fresh-water fowl, 353; hunted, 353; in Canada, 350.
Hudson, Capt. Henry, explores for Dutch, 309; follows Danish pilot, 309, 310; discovers Hudson Bay, 310, 311; discovers New Netherlands, 311; journals of, 311; sketch, 309; *Voyages*, 309.
Hudson's Bay Company, organized, 311–313; struggle with French, 312–314; history, 313–314.
Huguenots, persecuted by Louis XIV, xlvi; banished from France, 392; useful in Canada, 392, 393; Lahontan's plan for, xlvi.
Humming birds (*Oiseau Mouche*), in Canada, 350; described, 354.
Huron (Petun, or Tobacco, Tionntate) Indians, 154, 461; English name for, 155; stock, 321; habitat, 73, 143, 153–155, 340, 418, 484; characterized, 415; clans, 461; language, 46,

ILL

Huron Indians (*continued*).
47, 339, 340, 733, 747, 748; numbers, 340; villages, 340, 418; totems, 511; burial customs, 473; inheritance, 461; cultivate fields, xx, 148; hunting grounds, 319; government, 499; calendar, 427, 428; missions to, 46, 48, 318, 340; missions destroyed, 48, 153, 155, 318; in trade, 81, 92, 241; visited by Champlain, 219; Duluth, 72; Longueuil, 74; join Denonville's expedition, xvii, 125; relations with Iroquois, 73, 140–143, 149, 153, 155, 165, 318, 340, 502; desire French fort, xvii, 132; relations with Ottawa, 146, 397; chief Adario, 9, 149; dispose of captives, 144; tribal chief, 461; at Lorette, 46, 48, 268, 269; at Gaintsouan, 484; at Mackinac, xx, 145, 147, 155; anecdote, 455; battle with Americans, 461; remnant extant, 48; sketch, 155, 340.
Huron County (Ont.), 154.
Huronia, location, 488.
Hyporcheme, compared with Indian dance, 423.

Iberville, Pierre Le Moyne, sieur de, founder of Louisiana, 74, 133, 144, 145, 236; commands in Hudson Bay, 217, 313, 314; subordinates, xxxix, 227; expedition against New York, 235, 236; convoys merchantmen, 274; sketch, 236.
Iceland, discoverers from, 309.
Illinois Indians, 174; habitat, 341; described, 206; characterized, 341; physical traits, 415, 488; language, 198, 201, 204, 341; sodomy, 462; berdashes, 462; totems, 511; relations with Iroquois, 26, 77, 78, 81, 82, 198, 486–488, 502; allies of French, 78, 207; aid Lahontan,

ILL

Illinois Indians (*continued*).
207; fur-trade with French, 146, 207; with Arkansas, 204; join Denonville, 125; La Salle among, 26, 77; calendar, 427, 428; sketch, 77.
Illinois, early forts, xviii, 207; La Salle in, 33, 77, 207; Lahontan, 205–207; mission, xviii; Iroquois in, 198; diseases, 465; slavery, 169; parrots, 354; chestnuts, 367.
Indian territory, tribes in, 340.
Indiana, Indians of, 341.
Indians:
Physical characteristics — in general, 282, 414, 415, 465; robust, 593–605, 415, 416, 471; stature, 415; color, 284, 285, 415; complexions, 430; unbearded, 282, 284, 414, 584, 599; longevity, 418, 592, 593.
Mental characteristics—in general, 415, 421, 423; endurance, 268, 269, 416; observation, 429; memory, 431, 438; independence, xliii, 11, 59, 82, 421, 499; intelligence, 413, 429; contentment, 421; deference to age, 431; generosity, 586; faithfulness, 452; patience, 475; politeness, 414; reasonableness, 438, 439; valor, 424; not quarrelsome, 482; not passionate, 451–453, 463; natural equity, 285; philosophy, 7, 8, 426; without jealousy, 451, 453, 460; without caste, 421; gravity, 424, 425; brevity of speech, 425, 426; without discipline, 499; superstitious, 126, 429, 467, 468; hatred, 424.
Philology — in general, 46, 47, 56, 58, 176, 733, 734; most useful, 297; vocabulary, 288, 297; picture-writing, 512–515, 590. *See also* Chippewa Indians, Algonquian, Huron-Iroquois stock.
Mythology, Folk Lore, and Religion —in general, xxxv, xliii, 435–445,

IND

Indians (*continued*).
518, 519; compared with French, 517–550; idea of God, 59, 434–437, 446; of divine justice, 436, 437; divinities of, 445–449; evil spirits, 446–448, 467, 468; animal manitous, 345, 446; solar worship, 437, 449; dualism, 446–448; belief in life after death, 435, 436, 441, 449, 450, 460, 472; in transmigration of souls, 189; in dreams, 449, 459, 460; ceremonies, 286, 448–450; sacrifices, 448–450, 501; hymn, 450; medicine men, 447, 467, 468, 563, 593, 603; influence of, 460; methods, 467, 468; difficult to christianize, 146, 413, 414, 435, 445; beliefs compared with Christianity, 517–550.
Occupations—in general, 431, 432; hunting, 82, 104–117, 319, 349, 481–485, 573–575; fishing, 147, 148; agriculture, 148, 432; map-making, 193, 427.
Food — in general, 422, 470, 471, 580–583; vegetable, 148, 175, 187, 202, 369, 372, 502; fish, 147, 148, 169, 175, 363, 431, 467; animal, 169, 170, 175, 187, 202, 431, 467; unsalted, 422, 471; no salads, 471; cooking, 470, 471; appetite the guide, 470; drinks, 170, 466, 467; avoid ice-water, 471.
Feasts—in general, 169, 170, 422, 424; political, 58, 404; feast of union, 404; wedding, 458; for sick, 467, 563, 603; funeral, 473; war, 500, 501; eat-all, 466.
Villages and Cabins — villages fortified, 417; cabins, 92, 182, 188, 454; cabins described, 417, 418.
Domestic Animals—dogs, 105, 349, 495; horses, 131; cattle, 131; fowl, 131; hogs, 131.
Utensils — cradles, 416, 417, 459; beds, 418; traps, 113, 484, 485;

Indians (*continued*).
anchors, 158; for fishing, 147, 148; drums, 500; snow-shoes, 103, 104. *See also* Canoe, Calumet.

Dress—in general, 417, 581–584; unclothed, 417, 583, 607–610; cloaks, 417; caps, 417; shoes, 417; made of beaver-skins, 379; of women, 416, 609, 610; hair-dressing, 153, 416.

Warfare and Weapons — weapons in general, 155, 213; bow and arrows, 94, 115, 514; clubs, 487, 497, 498, 514; casse-tête, 402; hatchets, 512; amazed at fire-arms, 188, 203, 213; symbol of wars, 512; occasions for, 231, 232, 496; preparations, 153, 155, 500, 501; declaration, 507, 508; methods in, 128, 129, 142, 497-499, 502–508; scouting, 156, 486, 497, 498; no precautions against surprise, 485, 486, 497, 498; in forests, 70, 271, 497; fortifications, 590; seldom attacked, 237, 273, 490; ambuscades, 247, 489–493; track enemy, 498, 499, 502; take scalps, 129, 492, 493, 502, 505; personal following in, 500; private war-parties, 500; tree of peace, 407; cruelty in, 496–502; during hunting, 485–494, 498; useful to French, 237; return, 505; capture of prisoners, 503, 504; treatment of, xvi, 122–124, 137, 144, 199, 267–269, 496, 503–507; running the gauntlet, 238, 505; torture of, xlvi, 208, 268, 270, 496, 497, 504; death song of, 268, 504; adopted, 505, 506; exchanged, 194, 195, 506, 507. *See also* Slavery, below.

Slavery — in general, 94, 106, 111, 113, 420; origin of, 169, 504, 505; in Illinois, 169; treatment of slaves, 169, 432, 439, 454, 491; in declaring war, 508; enfranchisement, 474.

Indians (*continued*).
Government — without laws, 7, 553, 558; in general, xxxiv, 58, 194, 424, 499, 500; authority of chief, 499, 500; under chieftains, 500, 501; council, 75, 79–85, 92–94, 422, 423; composition of, 422, 427, 431, 499, 507; functions of, 499, 505, 507; oratory in, xiii, 7, 92, 162; treaties, negotiation of, 76, 431; for peace, 506, 508, 509; alliances, 507; envoys, 509; legal institutions compared with French, 551–570.

Social Customs — lack of property distinctions, xxxv, xliii, 7, 8, 282, 285, 420, 454; scorn of riches, xxxiv, 196; aversion to money, 94, 420, 421; equality, 452, 454; visits, 426; meals, 432; games, 432, 433, 594; gambling, 433; dances, 422; varieties, 423; compared with Greek, 423; occasions for, 423, 424; of the calumet, 168, 169, 423, 424, 508, 509; of war, 424, 501, 502; religious, 448, 450; of the chiefs, 168, 169, 423; gift-giving, in embassy, 84, 509; at fair, 93; in marriage, 457; for the dead, 473; articles for, 169.

Sex Relations, Courtship, and Marriage — in general, 605–618; immorality, 451, 453–455, 463, 540, 541, 615, 616; unchastity, 451, 452, 540, 541, 612, 615, 616; courtship, 451, 453–457; marriage, xxxv, xliii, 605, 606; monogamous, 458; consanguineous forbidden, 606; with slaves, 613; age for, 451, 459, 541, 592; ceremonies, 456, 457; fidelity in, 453, 458, 460, 461; punishment for adultery, 416, 460, 607; divorce easy, 453, 456–458; berdashes, 462.

Women and Children — physical characteristics of women, 416; passionate, 451, 459, 475; gaiety, 453; freedom, 453, 463; occupations, 432;

IND

Indians (*continued*).
assist in worship, 450; adopt prisoners, 459; prefer French, 455; widowhood, 459, 460, 462; whores, 463, 464; child-bearing, 458, 459, 606–608; purification, 458, 459; children, highly prized, 458; treatment in infancy, 459; take mother's name, 461, 462; assist in religious service, 448; training, 426, 427; of slaves, 474; of separated persons, 458.

Diseases and Remedies — diseases, in general, xxxv, 418, 465–475, 593–605; immunity from, 418, 465, 475; carelessness regarding, 465; of women, 475; pleurisy, 475; consumption, 466; pox, 465; natural remedies, 467, 468, 470; sweating, 467–469, 600–604; medicines, 161, 465–475; of roots, 466; of plant juices, 468, 471; cure of wounds, 471; avoidance of European remedies, 467–471.

Mortuary Customs—in general, 471; no mourning, 472, 473; wailing, 472; funeral orations, 472; coffins, 473; hut for dead, 473; cremation, 473; interment, 473; presents to dead, 474; resuscitation, 474; name of dead avoided, 473, 474.

Miscellaneous Customs — heraldry, 510, 511; totemism, 510; calendar, 427, 428; music, 500, 501; suicide, 368, 418, 419, 441, 459, 460, 530; hunting customs, 104-117, 349, 481-485, 573–575; hunting limits, 481, 482, 496; drunkenness, 94, 466, 568; excused, xvi, 124, 466.

Trade — articles used in, 70, 71, 377, 378; with Europeans, 574–577, 590, 591; annual fair at Montreal, 92–95; contracts recorded by wampum, 76, 431. *See also* Fur-trade.

Missions — in general, xvi, 48, 49, 55, 56, 59, 119, 168. *See also* Jesuits, Recollects.

IRO

Indians (*continued*).
Iowa, Indians in, 174, 175.
Iron, exported to Canada, 373.
Iron-ware, imported, 375.
Iroquois (Iroquese) Indians, xl; origin of name, 58; English name for, 6, 58; habitat, 26, 58, 59, 82, 323, 396, 397; numbers, 58; language, 46, 47, 56, 58, 339, 341, 733, 744; cruelty, 632; slaves, 239; feasts, 404; women commit suicide, 368; strength, 120; tribes, 58, 323, 341; government, 58, 404; in warfare, 396, 497, 498, 501, 502; name for governor-general, 80, 82, 84, 404; canoes, 138, 147; physical characteristics, 415, 488, 497; characterized, 26, 59, 339, 495–503; importance to Canada, 394, 395; relations with Europeans (general), 6, 58, 59; La Barre's expedition against, xiii, 66–86; Denonville's expedition, xv–xviii, xxiii, 118–134, 151, 162, 163, 208, 209, 221–229; Frontenac's war with, 55, 69, 231, 233, 234, 237–239; miscellaneous hostilities with French, xi, xv, xvi, xxiv, xxv, xxix, xxxvii, 6, 26, 36, 51, 52, 59–61, 74, 77, 103, 124, 136, 137, 156, 208, 218, 221, 223–227, 231, 237–240, 263, 266–273, 280, 283, 385, 485–494, 504; relations with English, 26, 58, 61, 237, 238, 262, 281; at Fort Niagara, 137, 142; wars with other tribes, xiii, xxii, 26, 51, 73, 78, 81, 86, 140–142, 147, 149, 152-161, 165, 167, 198, 199, 220–223, 317, 320, 340, 395, 485–493, 502, 503; in fur-trade, 26, 69, 78, 81, 125, 226, 395; relations to missions, xvi, 48, 55, 56, 59, 70, 121–124, 153, 155, 239, 259, 318, 339, 340; approve Adario's strategy, 225; sketch, 26, 58.

IRO

Iroquois country, described, 323; inaccessible, 80; expedition against, 149, 152–161; lacks fish and game, 323, 396.
Islands, Allumettes, in Ottawa, 216.
— Anticosti, location, 30, 31, 305; history, 31; seigniory of Jolliet, 31, 243, 305; size, 305; fort, 305; trade, 305.
— Bacchus. *See* Orleans.
— Belle, 40.
— Bird Rocks. *See* Island of Fowls.
— Cape Breton (Royale), origin of name, 324; described, 30, 274; governor, 276; Indians, 328; coal exported from, 374; fishery near, 324; unpeopled, 324; quarries on, 333, 334; sketch, 324.
— of Caves, identified, 154.
— Charity, in Saginaw Bay, 143, 318, 319.
— aux Coudres, origin of name, 31; danger off, 250; passed by Lahontan, 31, 250, 261.
— Drummond (Detour, Pontaganipy), Indian name for, 153; location, 153; sketch, 153.
— Fitzwilliam, identified, 154.
— of Fowls (Bird Rocks), sighted, 30; location, 31.
— Gaudeloupe, commerce with, 374; sugar-refineries, 374.
— Goat (aux Chevres), in Basin of Port Royal, 331.
— Hare (au Lièvres), location, 261.
— Mackinac, location, 146.
— Magdalen, location, 31.
— Manitoulin, described, 153; size, 317; Indians, 153, 317, 340.
— Martinique (Martinico), commerce with, 374; sugar-refineries, 374.
— Mingan, seigniory of Jolliet, 244, 309.
— Miquelon, French possession, 334.
— Montreal, location, 219; Indians, 119; habitants of, 96, 97; sacked by

JES

Islands, Montreal (*continued*).
Iroquois, 224, 225; fort on, 240; attempted raid on, 262.
— Orleans, location, 39, 247; described, 39; mission village on, 48; English fleet anchors off, 243; troops land near, 247.
— Percé, location, 323; described, 305; fishery off, 305, 306, 324.
— of Ré, location, 294.
— Rencontres, origin of name, 198, 199; location, 198.
— Rouge (Red), location, 31, 32, 260, 261.
— St. Croix, early settlement on, 324, 331.
— St. Helen, location, xv, 118; named by Champlain, 118; rendezvous for Denonville's expedition, xv, 118, 121.
— St. John (Prince Edwards), origin of name, 324; lacks harbors, 324; sketch, 324.
— St. Pierre, French settlement at, 334; inhabitants expelled from, 334; retroceded to France, 334; sketch, 334.
— Seven, harborage at, 261; sketch, 261.
Issati Indians, Hennepin among, xxxix; branch of, 343.

Jansen, Cornelis, Dutch theologian, 383, 384; followers, 383, 384.
Jenks, Albert E., "Wild-rice Gatherers of the Upper Lakes," 175.
Jesuits, doctrines of, 518–550; accept Aristotle, xiv, 116, 117; arrival in Canada, 43, 413; mission villages of, 48, 49, 56; missionaries, 91, 129, 140, 146, 259, 345, 365, 413, 417; relations with Recollects, 43, 44, 383, 413; mission at Tadoussac, 31, 34; at Quebec, 42, 43, 259; Aben-

JES

Jesuits (*continued*).
aki mission, 48, 49, 329, 330; at Montreal, 55; Iroquois mission, 131, 259, 266, 267; among Papinchois, 340; among Gaspesians, 340; St. Joseph mission, xviii, 208; Huron mission, 48, 75, 346; at Mackinac, xviii, 140, 146; at Sault Ste. Marie, xviii, 149, 152, 489; at Green Bay, xviii, 168; Illinois mission, xviii; among Sioux, xviii; relations with Indians, 413, 414, 435, 437, 438, 496, 733; describe native customs, 426, 466, 468, 472; oppose brandy trade, 81, 466; preserve morals, 455, 464; in fur-trade, 385, 386; relations with government, xxvii, 6, 227, 231, 381, 384–386; as interpreters, 84, 385; as messengers, 149; rear Jolliet, 243; name Fox River, 168; Canadian superior, 56, 259; instruction condemned, 267, 268; disbelieved by Adario, 517, 518; *Relations*, xxxvi, xlvii, 26, 31, 47, 58, 68, 76, 82, 110, 124, 127, 152, 153, 165, 168, 169, 174, 175, 207, 242, 320, 330, 340, 345, 380, 382, 386, 412, 414–418, 423, 424, 431, 444, 448, 450, 457, 460, 462, 466, 468, 469, 473, 474, 479, 480, 483, 488, 512, 530, 603, 733; sketch, 413.
Johnson, Sir William, names Lake George, 91.
Jogues, Isaac, Jesuit missionary, 91.
"Joli," shipwrecked off Newfoundland, 335, 336; conveys La Salle to Texas, 335.
Joliet (Ill.), terminus of Chicago canal, 207.
Jolliet, Sieur de. *See* Aux.
— Claire Françoise Bissot, wife captured by English, 243, 244, 249; sketch, 244.
— Louis, seigniory at Anticosti, 31, 243, 305; explores Mississippi, 200,

KIT

Jolliet, Louis (*continued*).
219, 243, 244; names Illinois River, 205; describes Chicago portage, 207; loses papers at Lachine rapids, 219, 244; captured by English, 243, 249; trade of, 305; in Hudson Bay, 244; in Labrador, 244; sketch, 243.
Jones, Arthur E., "Identification of St. Ignace II and of Ekarenniondi," 484.
Juchereau, Charles de St. Denis, commandant at Mackinac, 144, 165; builds Ohio post, 144; sketch, 144.
— Louis de St. Denis, expedition to New Mexico, 144.
— Nicolas, Sieur de Beauport, 144.
Jutland, Lahontan in, 686.

KAKALING, Grand, location, 174; significance, 174; Lahontan passes, 173.
— Little, location, 174.
Kaministiquia, French post at, 316; annoys Hudson's Bay Company, 316; fur-trade at, 316; sketch, 316.
Kansa Indians, Missouri mingle with, 200.
Kansas, Indian reservations in, 174.
Kaukauna (Wis.), location, 174; history, 174.
Kellogg, Louise Phelps, aid acknowledged, lxviii.
Kennebec Indians. *See* Canibas.
Kente. *See* Quinté.
Kettles, in fur-trade, 377.
Kickapoo Indians, habitat, 174, 341; language, 341; village, 174; Lahontan meets, 174; characterized, 341; sketch, 174.
Killistinoe Indians. *See* Cristinaux.
Kimberly (Wis.), rapids at, 174.
Kinnikinick. *See* Indian tobacco.
Kirk, Sir David, invades Canada, 31.
Kitchi Manitou, chief Indian divinity, 445; sacrifices to, 448, 449.
— Okima, Algonquian name for governor, 93; defined, 405.

KNI

Knives, in fur-trade, 377.
Kolnus, Johannes, Polish explorer, 309.
Kondiaronk, Huron name for Adario, 149.
Kryn. *See* Great Mohawk.
Kwapa. *See* Quapaw.

LA BARRE, Febre, governor of Canada, 25; supersedes Frontenac, xi, 26; in West Indies, 26; in fur-trade, 77, 91; illness, xiii, 71, 72, 81; speeches, xiii, 77–79; expedition against Indians, xi, xiii, 26, 32, 34, 46, 65–86, 72–79, 91, 97, 103, 120, 125, 226; sketch, 26.
L'Abat, —, French officer in Danish army, 674.
Labrador, described, 306, 307, 309, 310; discovery, 244, 307; trade, 307–309; part of Newfoundland, 333.
Laces, Canadian import, 375.
Lachine, rapids of, 66, 67, 303; origin of name, 67; post at, 240; La Salle's embarkation, 67; canal, 67; dangerous, 219; massacre at village, xvi, 224, 225, 266.
La Fontaine, in Placentia Bay, 276, 278.
Lafontaine, L. H., "De l'esclavage en Canada," 169.
LaForest. *See* Forest.
La Galette, location, 68.
Lahontan, Isaac Lom d'Arce, baron de, father of author, ix, x, xxi, 150, 151; sketch, 151.
— Louis Armand Lom d'Arce, baron de, parents of, ix, x, 150, 151; birth, x; sponsors, x; destined for army, x; joins marine corps, x; voyages to Canada, xi, xii, 6, 25–33, 258–262; signts Quebec, xi, 32; quartered at Beaupré, xii, 34–38; ordered to Montreal, 38, 46; visits mission villages, xii, 48, 49; ascends to Montreal, xiii, 49–56; in La Barre's

LAH

Lahontan, Louis (*continued*).
expedition, xiii, 66–86, 123; returns to Montreal, xiii, 85, 88–90; quartered at Chambly, xiii, 90, 91; at Boucherville, xiv, 96–117; ordered to France, xv, 118; refused permission, xvi, 121, 132, 133; hunts with Indians, xii, xiv, 46, 88, 103–117; learns Indian languages, xii, 46, 47, 88; accompanies Denonville's expedition, xv–xviii, 121–134; at Fort Frontenac, xvi, 122–126; befriends captive Iroquois, xvi, 122–124; censured for humanity, xvi, 124; ordered to upper country, xvii, 132, 133; makes preparations, xvii, xviii, 133; journey to Fort St. Joseph, xix, xx, 135–139; describes Niagara, xix, 136, 137; arrives at fort, xx, 139; winters thereat, xx, 140–143; expects attack from Iroquois, 142; seeks provisions at Mackinac, xx, 143–151; meets survivors of La Salle's expedition, xxi, 144, 145, 347; sends letter to Seignelay, xxi, 149–151; visits Sault Ste. Marie, xxii, 152, 153; accompanies Indian war-party, xxii, 149, 152–161; revisits Fort St. Joseph, xxii, 155, 161; abandons his post, xxii, xxiii, 152, 163; retreats to Mackinac, xxiii, 163–166; ordered to Canada, xxiii, 164; postpones return till spring, xxiii, 164; embarks for discovery, xxiv, 167; visits Wisconsin, xxiv, xli, xlii, 167–178; describes Indian feast, 169, 170; among Fox Indians, 175, 176; ascends the Mississippi, xxiv, 178, 179; explores River Long, 179–197, 300; limit of journey, xxiv, 193, 197; descends the Mississippi, xxiv, 197–200, 203–205; explores the Missouri, 200-203; burns Indian village, 203; meets Arkansa Indians, 203–205, 465, 466; at mouth of Ohio, xxiv, 205; crosses

Lahontan, Louis (*continued*).
Illinois, xxiv, 205–207; meets Tonty, 207; returns to Mackinac, xxiv, 207, 208; disbands detachment, 209; returns to Canada, xxv, 216–218; encounters Ste. Hélène, 217; rescued from rapids, xxv, 219; describes Lachine massacre, 224, 225; receives furlough, xxv, 230; countermanded, xxv, 230; patronized by Frontenac, xxv, 230, 232, 237, 281; declines Iroquois embassy, xxv, 237–239; illness of, 238; on detachment, 240; sent to France with tidings, xxvi, 250; in France, xxvi, 252–257; finds estates sequestered, xxvii, xxxiii, 151, 230, 252, 253; attempts to recover, 253; receives military order, xxvi, 253, 254, 257; desires a benefice, xxvii, 254; solicits favor at court, 256; commended to Frontenac, xxix, 256, 257; appointed captain, xxvi, 257; returns to Canada, 257; arrives in Quebec, xxviii, 262, 708; marriage arranged, xxvii, 388–390; declines, xxviii, 389, 390; plans defense, xxix, xlv, 271–273; Frontenac commends, xxix, 273, 274; sent to France, xxix, 274–279; aids in defense of Placentia, xxix, 275, 276, 278, 281; praises English valor, 279; praised by English, 281; project rejected at court, 280, 281, 288; made lieutenant of Newfoundland, xxx, 281; dispute with physician, 282–286; embarks for Placentia, 287; incurs Brouillon's enmity, xxxi, 12, 287–294, 694, 695; builds house, 288, 292; entertains, 290; attempts to conciliate Brouillon, 291, 292; composes satiric song, xxxi, 293; supported by Placentians, xxxi, 292–294; in danger, xxxi, 293; escapes, xxxii, lxi, 9, 293, 294; voyage to Portugal, xxxii, 294–296; pursued by pirates, xxxii, 295, 296; in disgrace at court, xxxii, 297, 298, 647, 694, 696; sent to Rochelle, 296, 297; in Portugal, xxxii, 619–626, 648–650; letter from Lisbon, 619–647; meets Abbé d'Estrées, 628; sees king of Portugal, 629; voyages to Holland, 648–650; adventures with English privateers, 650, 651; at Guernsey, 648, 650; visits Holland, xxxii, 648, 651–656, 658, 659; visits Hamburg, xxxii, 648, 657–663; attempts at reinstatement at French court, xxxii, xxxiii; letter to court, xxxii, xli; at Lubeck, 648, 662, 663; at Copenhagen, xxxiii, 663–684; meets king of Denmark, 679; patronized by, 3; journeys to Paris, 684–694; passport, 688; letter from Paris, 684–695; at Versailles, 694; adventure with German countess, 688–693; returns to native province, xxxiii, 696; letter from Bearn, 696–710; arrest ordered, xxxiii; escapes to Spain, xxxiii; at Bordeaux, 697; at Bayonne, 698; at Esperon, 698; Dax, 698–711; in Spain, 698–717; at Ortez, 710–712; letter from Huesca, 711–717; taken for Huguenot, 712–714; letter from Saragossa, 718–731; later European wanderings, xxxiii, xliii, 9, 730; in England, xxxiv, 8; at court of Hanover, xxxiii; befriended by Leibnitz, xxxiii; defends English king, xxxiv; death, xxxiii; posthumous works, xxxiv; characteristics of, xi, xlii, xliii, xlvi, xlvii; occupations, xii, xiv, xx; humanity, xlvi, 122–124, 208, 269, 270; impartiality, 299, 300; scorns criticism, 10, 11; tolerance, xlvii; obscenity, xliv; skepticism, 285, 286, 438–445, 448; dislikes ecclesiastics, xxvii, xxxvi, 42, 297; denounces

Lahontan, Louis (*continued*).
ecclesiastical tyranny, xv, 88–90, 98; belittles Jesuit missions, 329; fondness for sport, xiv, xx; study, xiv; wilderness life, xxi, xxx, xli, 7, 11, 281; knowledge of wilderness conditions, xxv, xli, 435, 452; knowledge of Indian languages, xvii, 123, 132, 176, 414, 733; beloved by Indians, 274, 281; hatred for Iroquois, 6; describes Iroquois, 57–61; satirizes civilization, xxxv–xxxvii, xlii–xliv; slanders women of Canada, 30–38; views on origin of human race, 282–286; dissertation on witchcraft, 696–710; exaggerates numbers, 237, 249, 262; keeps journals, 206, 264, 300, 370; discusses difficulties of discoveries, 210–215; describes natural history, xiv; describes beavers, 170–173; apochryphal voyage to River Long, xxiii, xxxviii–xliii; poses as a discoverer, xli; acquaintance with explorers, xli; reasons for invented journey, xxxix–xli; ignorance of Siouan country, 342, 343; skepticism concerning, xxxix; misfortunes of, xlii, xliii; extent of travels, 418; patrons, 11; foreshadows Revolution, xlvii; literary style, xxiii, xxxiv, xxxvii, xxxix; Algonquian dictionary, 732–748; memoir on Canada, 299–400; table of explanation of terms, 297, 301, 401–407; bibliography of works, xxxvi, li-xciii; *Dialogues* with Adario, 517–618; Indian participant, xliv, 9, 149; described, xliv, xlv; possible author of, xliv, xlv; style, xxxix, xlv; origin, xiv, xv, xliv, 8, 9; apology for, xli, 7, 8; published separately, xlv; borrowed from, xlviii; *Voyages*, xi; origin of, 6; motive for, xxxiv, 300; first destined to be burned, xxxiv, 5; criticized, 10, 11; copies

Lahontan, Louis (*continued*).
kept, 300; published, xxxiv; illustrations, lxii, 9, 10; correctness of maps, 300; dates, 6; vogue of, xxxiv–xxxvi; historical value, xxxvi–xxxviii; neglect accounted for, xxxviii; French editions, xxxiii, xxxiv, lii, liv–lx, lxiii–lxxiv, lxxvi, lxxxix–xci, xciii, 124, 143; translated into English, xxxiv, xliv, 8, 9; English editions, xxxiv, xlviii, lx–lxiii, lxxxii–lxxxvii, xcii; Dutch edition, lxxv, lxxxvii–lxxxix, 8; Italian editions, xcii, xciii, German editions, lxxiv–lxxxvi, xci; dedication, 3, 4; preface lxi, 5–10; *Réponse à la lettre d'un particulier*, xxxiv; *Memoir on Fur-Trade of Canada*, xxxiv.
— barony of, erected, ix; seized by creditors, x, xxi, 151, 230.
— village of, location, ix.
Lake Abittibi, French post on, 342.
— Andiatarocté. *See* Lake George.
— d'Angoulême. *See* Lake St. Peters.
— Assinipouals. *See* Winnipeg.
— Champlain, Indians near, 59; affluents of, 108; outlet, 52, 90, 240; hunting near, xiv, 108–117; route from New York, 240; Iroquois hunting ground, 240; rendezvous of troops, 240.
— Chautauqua, as fur-trade route, 155.
— Erie (Conti), origin of name, 320; size, 319; shores described, 319–321, 399; empties into Lake Ontario, 131, 304, 321; islands of, 321; depth, 320; navigation, 157, 158, 320; climate, 319; portage to Ontario, 321, 322; boundary of Canada, 302; trees, 319; game, 320, 322; Indians frequent, 320; projected fort on, 272, 273, 321; Lahontan coasts, xix, 138, 155, 158.
— Frontenac. *See* Lake Ontario.

LAK

Lake George, origin of name, 91; Indian name for, 91; route to New York, 90.
— Grand Butte des Morts, Lahontan on, 174, 175.
— Huron, 92; shore described, 143; shape, 317; size, 316; climate, 316, 317; ice, 144, 448; navigation, 147, 317, 318; outlet, 304; portage, 322; course from Mackinac to French River, 218; islands, 153, 154, 218, 317; fish, 320; game, 317; Indians near, xvii, 154, 317, 340, 488; war-party on, xxii, 153, 154, 488; Lahontan crosses, 143, 144, 163; English traders, 125; forts, xviii, xix, 139, 272, 320.
— Machakandibi, on route to Hudson Bay, 314.
— of Malhominis. *See* Lake Grand Butte des Morts.
— Michigan (Illinois), 92; described, 209, 210, 319; outlet, 143, 145, 146; affluents, 208; islands, 167; bays, 317; passage to Mississippi, 178; fish, 320; Indians adjacent, 341; Lahontan crosses, xxiv, 167, 207, 208; Lahontan familiar with, xlii.
— Nipigon (Lenemipigon), location, 304; limits of explorations, 304, 305; fort on, 136.
— Nipissing (Nepicerinis), origin of name, 218; source of French River, 317; on route to upper country, 218; Indians near, 342.
— Ontario (Frontenac), described, 322; size, 322; depth, 322; banks, 322; affluents, 322; Erie empties into, 131, 304; source of St. Lawrence, 304; portage, 318, 321, 322; route, 273; Indians near, 58, 70, 323, 341; expeditions on, xiii, 68, 126; vessels, 68, 226, 395; missions, 70.
— Pepin, French fort on, xxxix.
— St. Clair, Iroquois name for, 139; described, xx, 138, 139; beauty of,

LAP

Lake St. Clair (*continued*).
139; Indian rendezvous, xviii, 125; fort near, 418.
— St. Francis, in St. Lawrence, 67, 86.
— St. John, route to Hudson Bay, 244.
— St. Louis, in St. Lawrence, 67, 86, 219; described, 240.
— St. Peters, described, 51.
— du St. Sacrement. *See* Lake George.
— Salt, reported to Lahontan, xxiv, 194; inhabitants of, 194.
— Simcoe, described, 317, 318; river flowing from, 318; Indians near, 318, 340; Iroquois hunting grounds, 323; projected fort on, 273, 318.
— Superior (Upper), described, 315; size, 315; shores, 153; outlet, 152, 304, 316; islands, 316; climate, 316; fogs, 153; ice, 316; game, 316; fish, 316; copper mines, 316; navigation, 312; 315, 316; ports, 315; Indians, 315, 342; fur-trade, 153; trading posts, 315, 316; Duluth, 315; voyage from Hudson Bay, 314, 315.
— Temiscaming, significance of name, 342; location, 342; Indians near, 342.
— Toronto. *See* Lake Simcoe.
— Trout, on Ottawa route, 219.
— of Two Mountains, in River Ottawa, 217; mission village on, 55.
— Winnebago, Indian village on, 174; currents in, 178.
— Winnipeg, reports of, 304, 305; river rises near, 311.
Lalande, Jacques de, 244.
La Montagne, mission village at, 55, 339, 340.
Lampreys, in Canada, 358.
Lang, Andrew, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, 510.
Lapland, cape on coast of, 301; witchcraft in, 701.
La Plante, —, captured by Iroquois, 224, 266.

LAP

La Plaque, —, leads war-parties, 239, 240.
La Prairie de la Madeleine, site, 240; mission village at, 56; besieged, 226; French encamp at, 240; attacked, 240; sketch, 240.
Lapwings, in Canada, 351.
La Revue Canadienne, 244.
La Rochelle. *See* Rochelle.
La Salle, Réné Robert Cavelier, sieur de, as discoverer, xii, 133, 210; at Fort Frontenac, 69; embarks at La Chine, 67; at Fort Miami, 208; at Niagara, 131; accompanied by Recollects, 413; describes Chicago portage, 207; meets Shawnee, 82; in Illinois, 26, 33, 207; plundered by Iroquois, 77; discovers Mississippi, 32, 33, 88; among Arkansa, 204; envoy to Onondaga, 61; impoverished, 69; embarks for France, xii, 33; familiarity with Canada, 33; enemies, 69, 125; endorsed by Frontenac, 69; his lieutenant, 124, 125, 133; last expedition, xii, xxxii, 144, 145, 335; its survivors, xxxii, xli, 144, 145, 347; murdered, 33, 115, 145; published accounts of, xli; sketch, 33.
La Touche, Monsieur de, courtier of Louis XIV, 254.
La Tourette, Claude Greysolon de, Duluth's brother, Lahontan meets, 135, 136; at Lake Nipigon, 136; sketch, 136.
Laval, François de Montmorency, builds Basilica, 42; favors Jesuits, 43; opposes Recollects, 43; forbids liquor traffic with Indians, 94; successor of, 165; rigor, 166; establishes seminary, 386; benefices of, 383; sketch, 43.
— University (Quebec), 110; editions of Lahontan in, liii–xciii.
Law, Adario compares French and savage, 551–592; former works injustice, 555–559.

LOB

Lea, Charles Henry, *History of Inquisition*, 704.
Lead, in fur-trade, 377.
Leagues, length of, 513.
LeClercq, Christian, *Premier établissement de la foy dans la Nouvelle France*, 413; cited, 200.
Le Courrier du Livre, liii.
Legler, Henry E., "Henry de Tonty," 133.
Leibnitz, Gottfried Wilhelm, befriends Lahontan, xxxiii, xxxiv; *Epistolas ad diversos*, xxxiii.
Leisler, Jacob, rebellion of, 126.
Le Jeune, Paul, Jesuit missionary, 417; describes Indian customs, 466, 472; on Huron-Iroquois language, 733.
Le Moyne. *See* Iberville, Bienville, Longueuil, Ste. Hélène.
Lentils, on River Long, 191.
Lepidus timidus, 348.
"Le Rocher," Illinois landmark, 207.
Léry, Chassegros, Canadian engineer, 41, 42.
Le Sueur, Pierre Charles, ascends Mississippi, xxxix.
Levasseur de Neré, —, aids in fortifying Quebec, 265.
Lewis, Meriwether, and Clark, William, describe plant, 474.
Lewiston, Niagara portage at, 136.
Library of Congress, editions of Lahontan in, liii–xciii.
Licences (congés), for fur-trade, 99–101.
384, 386; reform in system, 392.
Linden, in Canada, 364.
Linen, Canadian import, 376.
Liquor-traffic, with Indians, 94.
Lisbon, described by Lahontan, lxi, 9, 297, 619–650.
Little Chute (Wis.), location, 174.
— Rapids (Wis.), location, 174.
Livre, value of, 101.
Lobsters, in Canada, 333, 359, 361.

LON

Long, John, English trader, 93; *Voyages and Travels*, 93, 433, 457, 510, 734.
— Point (Lake Erie), described, 321; Lahontan portages, 138.
Longitude, former manner of reckoning, 302.
Longueuil, Charles Le Moyne, sieur de, 74; relations with Iroquois, 74, 75, 77, 81, 84, 224; ennobled, 74; governor of Montreal, 224; sketch, 74, 224; sons of, 74, 118, 236.
Lons, Marquise de, sponsor of Lahontan, x.
Lorette, mission village, 46, 48, 268, 269, 339, 340.
Loskiel, George H., *Mission of United Brethren*, 448.
Louis X, king of France, orders to governors, 290.
Louis XIV, friend of Prince von Furstemberg, 692; aids La Salle, 88; controlled by Jesuits, 384; persecutes Huguenots, xlvi; grant to Lahontan's father, ix; ministers of, 5, 254–256, 338; aids Canadian missions, 55; sends troops to Canada, 26; relations with Iroquois, 77, 280; relations with Lahontan, xxxiii, 5, 281, 298; appoints Canadian bishops, 165; chaplain, 165; recalls Denonville, 227; orders to governors, 338; receives cession of part of Newfoundland, 275; grandsons of, 227; controls king of England, 61.
Louisiana, Canadian founders of, 74, 144, 145, 235, 236; posts, 144; missions, 145; Tonty's death, 133.
Loup Indians, French name for Mohican, 90.
Louvois, François Michel le Tellier, marquis de, confers order on Lahontan, xxvi, 254; sketch, 254.
Lower Granville (N. S.), site of Port Royal, 331.

MAC

Loyalists, in Nova Scotia, 331.
Lubeck, Lahontan at, 648, 662, 663, 680.
Lucian, read by Lahontan, xiv, xv, xliv, 116.
Lude, Count de, 11.
— Duchesse de, Lahontan's patron, 11.
Lutreola vison, 111.
Lynx, in Canada, 343.

Macaulay, Thomas Babington, *History of England*, 665.
MacGregory, Patrick, captured, 126; sketch, 126.
Machakandibi Indians, habitat, 342; language, 342; characterized, 342.
McKenney, Thomas L., *Tour of the Lakes*, 64.
Mackenzie, Alexander, *Voyages through North America*, 219.
Mackerel, in Canada, 358.
Mackinac, location, xx, 92, 145, 146; described, 145–148; latitude, 145; importance, 145, 149, 318; route thither, xxiii, 207, 208, 218, 219; Indians at, 92, 98, 143, 317, 448; neighboring villages, 144, 145, 340, 418, 429; agriculture, 144, 148; fish, 147, 148; game, 147; Jesuit mission, xviii, 129, 140, 146, 149; French settlement, 146; êntrepot of Northwest, xli, 146; security, 147; prisoners shot, 144, 222; messenger to, 144; commandants, xviii, xxiii, 125, 144, 164, 209; Duluth at, 72, 73; La Tourette, 135; Lahontan, xx, xxii–xxiv, xl, xli, 135, 143, 149, 152, 163–167, 208, 216, 300, 315, 430; survivors of La Salle's expedition, xxi, 144, 145, 347; English traders captured near, 125; map, 146, 319; sketch, 92, 146. *See also* Fort Mackinac.

MCL

McLennan, William, "Gentlemen of the King's Guard," 73; "Death of Duluth," 73; *Patriarchal Theory*, 462, 510.
Macoun, John, *Catalogue of Canadian Birds*, 356.
Maheu (Mahu), Jean Paul, messenger to France, 26.
Maine, Indians of, 49, 90, 126, 327, 328; St. Castin in, xi, 328, 329; French post, 327, 328; fort attacked, 236, 237; celebration by Historical Society, 324; *Collections*, 328.
Maize, raised by Indians, 139, 140, 148, 502; in Acadia, 325; Green Bay, 168.
Mallery, Garrick, "Picture-Writing of American Indians," 512, 514.
Malomini Indians. *See* Menominee Indians.
Malouins, fisheries of, 308.
Mandrake, in Canada, 364; described, 368.
Manhattan (Manathe), location, 6; route to, 91.
Manitou, Indian spirits, 345, 603.
Mantet (Mantz, Manteht), Nicolas d'Ailleboust, sieur de, leads rangers to Fort Frontenac, 232, 233; with Duluth, 233; repairs Fort Frontenac, 233; raid against Schenectady, 236; sketch, 233.
Manzanita, Spanish name for plant, 474.
Maples, described, 366, 367; in Canada, 364, 365; sap, 429; method of making syrup, 366, 367; drunk by Indians, 170.
Marble, varieties of, 685.
Margry, Pierre, *Découvertes et établissement des Français*, xxxii.
Marine, department of, in charge of colonies, x, xi, 5, 118, 384; Lahontan in corps of, x.
Marion, Fontaine, shot as deserter, 127.

MEN

Markham, Albert H., "Voyages and works of John Davis, Navigator," 310.
Marmot. *See* Whistler.
Marquette, Father Jacques, companion of Jolliet, 244; discoveries of, xli, 412; establishes St. Ignace mission, 146, 154; at Fox-Wisconsin portage, 177; describes Chicago, 207; names Illinois River, 205; Ohio, 205; Missouri, 200; return route, 207; map, 200; describes berdashes, 462; michibichi, 345; calumet dance, 169, 424.
Martens, in Canada, 344; Lahontan hunts, 115; traps for, 482–484; skins of, 376; Norwegian trade in skins, 681; price, 379.
Martin, Horace F., *Castorologia*, 171, 173, 346, 380, 479–481.
Martinique, besieged, 288, 289.
Maryland, emigrants to, 126.
Mascoutin Indians, 174, 341.
Maskikik, Indian remedy, 468.
Massachusetts Historical Society, editions of Lahontan in library of, liii–xciii; *Collections*, 237.
Masson, L. R., *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, 417, 457, 468, 483, 500.
Matchi-Manitou, evil spirits of Indians, 446–448.
Mattawan, distance from Montreal, 219.
Maupeau, Sieur de, accompanies Lahontan to Canada, 257, 262; preferred before Lahontan, xxix, 390.
Maurault, J. A., *Histoire des Abenakis*, 328.
Maya calendar, 428.
May-apples. *See* Mandrake.
Melons, raised by Indians, 148.
Membertou, Micmac chief, 328, 414.
Membré, Father Zenobie, voyages, xli, 204.
Menneval, Robineau, sieur de, governor of Acadia, 327, 330.

Menominee (Malomini) Indians, habitat, xxiv, 168, 341; language, 341; village, 168; entertain Lahontan, xxiv, 168–171; French name for, 175; characterized, 341; sketch, 168.
Merles, in Canada, 358.
Merlins, in Canada, 352.
Meules, Jacques de, intendant of New France, 86; recalled, 102, 103.
Miami (Oumami) Indians, habitat, 77; migrations, 77; language, 341; physical traits, 415, 488; totems, 511; characterized, 341; mission to, xviii, 140, 208; treatment of prisoners, 504; calendar, 427, 428; fur-trade with, 146; allies of French, 78, 125; Indian allies of, 82, 486; fight Iroquois, 78, 81, 82, 157, 159–164, 208, 486–488.
Michibichi, described, 343, 345, 446.
Michigan, Indians of, 167, 174.
Michitonka, Miami chief, 161–163.
Micmac (Souriquois) Indians, habitat, 327, 328; language, 339; chief, 328, 414; devoted to French, 328; missions to, 328; characterized, 339; sketch, 328.
Mink, identified, 111.
Minnesota, boundary of, 316; *Historical Collections*, 315.
Minquas Indians, identified, 320.
Mission Indians, assist French, 119, 122, 239, 240; enumerated, 339, 340. *See also* the several missions.
Mississague Indians, habitat, 317; language, 34.
Missouri Indians, habitat, 200; characteristics, 204, 205; migrations, 200; Lahontan visits, 200–203; sketch, 200.
Mohawk (Agnies) Indians, English name for, 658; habitat, 58, 59, 341; language, 56, 339, 341; Indian enemies, 90; enemies of French, 77, 80, 238; expedition against, 55, 59, 224;

Mohawk Indians (*continued*).
missions, 56, 239, 339, 340; characterized, 339.
Mohican (Mohegan, Wolf, Fr. Loup) Indians, habitat, 90; characterized, 339; language, 339; in fur-trade, 90; wandering, 327, 328.
Molina, Luis, Jesuit theologian, 383, 384.
Monroe County (N. Y.), 125, 131.
Monsoni (Monzoni) Indians, habitat, 342; characterized, 342; language, 342; wandering, 342; at Sault Ste. Marie, 342.
Montagnais Indians, language, 339; tribes of, 261, 339, 340; at Tadoussac, 31; mission, 49; trade with Jolliet, 305.
Montmagny, Charles Huault de, governor of Canada, 40, 82.
Montmorency County, location, 34.
Montreal, founded, 52, 53, 233; location, 38; early name, 52; mountain, xxxvii, 55, 339, 513; island near, 118; described, 52–56; fortifications, 53, 88, 89, 98; government of, 52, 53, 86, 120, 144, 202, 224, 383; river transportation, 657; courts, 392; seminary of St. Sulpice, 55; Frontenac at, 231, 232; Lahontan, xiii, xxv, xxvi, 48, 52–56, 88–90, 218, 235, 239; Iroquois raid, 224, 270, 271; commerce, 96, 97, 376; fur-trade, 92-95; peace conference (1701), 149; Adario interred, 149; Denonville bound for, 103; history, 53, 55; Historical Society *Memoirs*, 169.
Monts, Pierre du Gas, sieur de, French explorer, 331.
— Notre Dame, in Canada, 274; fisheries off, 306; identified, 306.
Montortié, —, French officer, 86, 87, 92, 98.
Moor-hens. *See* Wood-hens.
Moose, identified, 103.

MOR

Moracin, Sieur de, French merchant, 655.
Moravians, missions to Indians, 448.
Morgan, Lewis H., "Houses and House-Life of American Aborigines," 418; *Ancient Society*, 462.
Mortier, Corneille, cartographer, 338.
— Pierre, bay named for, 338.
Mosquitoes, torment of, 68.
Mountains, Chicchack. *See* Monts Notre Dame.
— Pyrenees, Lahontan near, ix, xxi; St. Castin born near, 329; timber from, 150.
— Shickshock. *See* Monts Notre Dame.
Moyacks, in Canada, 351, 355.
Mozeemlek, xxxix; habitat, 193; characteristics, xxiv, 187, 193, 195, 196; enemies, 187, 194; numbers, 187, 193, 194; houses, 194; mistaken for Spaniards, 192, 193; appearance, 193; refuse to go to Canada, 196.
Mulattoes, in Europe, 284.
Muller, Frederik, *Catalogue of Books, Maps, Plates on America*, lxxv.
Mullets, in Great Lakes, 359.
Murcey, —, French officer, 97.
Muskrats (*Fiber zibethicus*), in Canada, 343, 344; manner of hunting, 110, 111; price, 380.
Mussels, in Canada, 359; described, 361; pearls of, 361.
Myrand, Ernest, *Sir William Phips devant Quebec*, 249.

Nadouessioux Indians. *See* Sioux Indians.
Nantes, Lahontan at, 264, 279–282; brandy exported, 375; edict revoked, xlvi.
Naroutsouat (Norridgewock, Maine), French post at, 328.
Natchitoches, early French settlement, 144.

NEW

Navarre, parlement of, ix.
Nebraska, Indians in, 175.
Needles, in fur-trade, 378.
Neenah (Wis.), Indian village near, 174.
Neill, Edward D., identifies river, 315.
Nelson, John, captured by French, xviii, 265, 274; promotes Lahontan's marriage, xxviii, 389, 390; hypothetical voyage of, 311; sketch, 265.
Nemitsakouat, Duluth's post, 315.
Nepisirini Indians. *See* Nipissing Indians.
New Brunswick, Indians of, 90, 327; celebration by Historical Society, 324.
— England, boundary, 323, 400; Indians, 49, 90, 126, 327, 328; early explorations, 311; English, 237, 399; forts, 236; raided by French, 236, 237; French in, 127, 330; negotiations with French, 385; Wheler in, 289; fisheries, 399, 400.
Newfoundland, 274, 275; described, xxx, xxxii, 27, 259, 287, 288, 295, 302, 305, 308, 309, 332–339, 348, 355, 374, 401; early explorations, 303, 307, 308; early name, 307; included in Canada, 302; natives, 309, 334; white population, 332, 337; English, 332; Basques, 308, 333; French, xxix, 275–279, 332, 334; officers in, 12, 266; visited by bishop, 232; by Iberville, 236; Lahontan in, xxx, xxxii, lxi, 9, 281; storms, 27, 274; trade, 282, 288; maps, lxi, 28, 30, 259.
New France, Indian name for, 93; boundaries, 301–303, 400, 414; physical characteristics, 285, 391; rivers, 64; forests, 70; mountains, 50; climate, xii, 38, 41, 45, 46, 104, 106, 249, 250; animals, 104–117, 343–349, 481; birds, 350–356; fruits, 364–372; fish and fisheries, 305, 306, 308, 358–363, 394; Indian tribes, 339–342, 710; their languages, 46,

NEW

New France (*continued*).
47; discovery by whites, 303; limits of exploration, 304; white settlement, 31, 303, 331; Indian opposition, 303; population, 304; commerce and fur-trade, 33, 54, 96, 97, 99, 101, 102, 235, 280, 326, 373–378, 382, 391, 392, 394, 657, 681; commercial companies, xi, 34, 41, 91, 253, 303, 382; agriculture, 35, 39, 55; navigation, 64, 65; travelling, 45, 46, 62–65, 70; Indian wars, 58–61; troops, 26, 36,72, 119, 392; relations with Iroquois, 6, 26, 45, 59, 60, 92–94, 385, 397; government, xxxviii, 329, 381–393; governors, xi, 25, 26, 41, 42, 59, 97, 119, 235, 381, 384, 404—*see also* Onontio; local governors, 51, 382, 383; intendants, 41, 42, 44, 102, 103, 239, 382, 384, 392; sovereign council, 41, 42, 44, 45, 230, 382, 385, 402; judiciary, 44, 45, 392; noblesse, 98, 260, 386; seigniories, 26, 34, 39; feudalism, 34, 36, 53, 260; land allotments, 36; luxury, 55, 97, 391, 392; Indian allies, 26, 92–95, 119, 270–272; ecclesiastics, 42, 43, 383, 386, 542–545; habitants, xii, xxxviii, 34–38, 49, 387, 391, 399, 402; manufactures, 392; invaded by Kirk, 31; Phips's expedition, 242–250; capital, 39–44, 331; histories, 412, 413.

— Holland. *See* New York.

— Mexico, French exploration towards, 144; inhabitants of, 191.

— York (New Holland, New Netherlands), Indian name for, 82, 236; boundaries, 6; discovery, 311; route from Canada to, 90, 91; incite Iroquois against French, 237; Canadian raid, 235, 236; troops to invade Canada, 240; French negotiations, 385; governors, 61, 78, 79, 157,

NOR

New York (*continued*).
287; fur-trade, 126, 395–397, 399; editions of Lahontan in Public Library, liii–xciii; in Historical Society Library, liii–xciii; *Colonial Documents*, 68, 72, 74, 86,87, 126, 131, 136, 139, 155, 157, 162, 220, 222, 236, 237, 240, 241, 262, 271, 327, 461, 486; State Paleontologist's *Report*, 305.

— York City (Manathe), name for, 6; French prisoner at, 239; easy to capture, 239; Adario in, 519.

Niagara, location, 131; fort at, 131; Lahontan leaves, xix, 135, 220; portage, xix, 136; Seneca village, 137; troops near, 73.

— Falls of, first described, xix, 136, 137; beasts and fish killed in, 137; passage under, 137.

Nicolet, Jean, French explorer, 209, 244.

Nicolas, Huron chief, revolts, 461.

Nicollet, I. N., American explorer, xl.

Nicotiana tabacum, 474; *rustica*, 474.

Nider, —, *Formicarius*, 703, 704.

Nightingales, in Canada, 350, 354.

Niles (Mich.), French fort near, 208.

Nipissing (Nepisirini) Indians, habitat, 218, 342; characterized, 342; language, 342; original Algonquians, 342; numbers, 342; sketch, 342.

Nopemen d'Achirini. *See* Achirigouans.

Noquets (Nocké) Indians, habitat, 317; language, 340.

Normans, early fisheries of, 305; early settlers, 402; founders of Canadian commerce, 373.

Norridgewock. *See* Naroutsouat.

Norsemen, early discovery of America by, 307, 309; silver miners, 681.

North America, size, xxxvi, 210, 211, 299, 300; maps, 300; explorations of coast, 303, 304, 307, 309–314.

— Sea, channels in, 658; islands, 664.

NOR

North West Company, in fur-trade, 316.
Northwest (Old), not part of Canada, 302, 303; Indians of, 305; St. Lusson takes possession, 342.
— Passage, explorations for, 310, 312.
Notre Dame du Mont Carmel, order of, 254.
— des Anges, Recollect convent, 44.
Nouë, Sieur de la, at Kaministiquia, 316.
Nova Scotia, bays, 330, 331; Indians, 328; Scotch, 331; Loyalists, 331; land grants, 265; Historical Society, 324. *See also* Acadia.
Nut-trees, in Canada, 364, 369.

OAKS, of Acadia, 325, 326; Canada, 364; Lake Erie, 319.
Oars, described, 65.
Ochagach, map drawn by, 427.
Oiseau Mouche. *See* Humming Birds.
Ojibwa, Indians. *See* Chippewa Indians.
Oka, Indian mission village, 55.
Oklahoma, Indian reservations in, 174, 175, 202, 204.
Old Port au Choix (Newfoundland), 308.
Old South Leaflets, 303.
Oleron, St. Castin's birthplace, xxi, 150, 151, 328.
Olier, Jean Jacques, founder of Sulpitians, 55.
Omaha Indians, 499, 509.
Oneida (Onnoyoutes) Indians, habitat, 58, 323, 341; French enemies, 77, 80; to waylay English embassadors, 238.
Onondaga (Onnontagues) Indians, habitat, 58, 77, 80, 81, 323, 341; language, 341; council house among, 58; embassy to, 61, 74, 77, 238, 239; orator, 74; chief, 222; Miami raid, 162; attack Miami, 163.
— French captive at, 270.
Onontio, title of governor of Canada, 80, 82, 84, 404.

OTT

Onoyout Indians. *See* Oneida Indians.
Ontario, boundary of, 316; Indians, 317, 342; Historical Society *Records and Papers*, 484; Archæological *Report*, 484.
— County (New York), 127.
Openango Indians, habitat, 90, 328; language, 339; characterized, 339; in fur-trade, 90.
Opossum, described, 347; habitat, 343.
Orange. *See* Albany.
Originals. *See* Elks.
Ortolans, in Canada, 351, 356.
Ortyx virginianus, 353.
Osage Indians, habitat, 202; characteristics, 204, 205; sketch, 202.
Oshkosh (Wis.), Indian village near, 174.
Ossa. *See* Opossum.
Oswego County (New York), 72.
Oto (Otentas, Otontantas) Indians, early form of name, 200; habitat, 198–200; agriculturists, xx, 199; Missouri amalgamate with, 200; Lahontan visits, 199, 200; sketch, 200.
Otontagan Indians, Ottawa band, 153
Otréouaté. *See* Grangula.
Otsi Keta, Iroquois name for Lake St. Clair, 139.
Ottawa (Outaoua) Indians, tribes of, 153, 317, 340; habitat, 73, 92, 143, 153, 317, 340; physical traits, 415; hair dressing, 153; language, 176, 340; totems, 511; religious hymn, 449, 450; hunting grounds, 210, 317; agriculturists, 148; treatment of prisoners, 144, 504; characterized, 503; calendar, 427, 428; hunting expedition, 143; first encounter French, 153; relations to Lahontan, xvii, xxiv, xxv, 132, 165, 167, 177, 181, 184, 189, 216–218; relations with other tribes, 73, 146, 149; 153–161, 209, 317, 321, 340, 397, 503; in fur-trade, 81, 92, 95, 241,

OTT

Ottawa Indians (*continued*)
under Duluth, 73; under Denonville, xvii, 125; cowardly, 156, 159, 160, 163, 216, 217; at Mackinac, 145–147, 317, 429; mission to, xviii, 129, 131, 140; sketch, 340.
Otters, in Acadia, 326; Canada, 344; River Long, 206; enemies of, 485; attack beavers, 485; used as bait, 434; hunted, 112–114, 482; price of skins, 113, 379; Norwegian trade in, 681; varieties of pelts, 379.
Ouadebaton Indians. *See* Wahpeton.
Ouiatonon Indians, habitat, 341; language, 341; characterized, 341; sketch, 341.
Oureahé (Ourehaoué), Cayuga chief, sketch, 233, 234.
Outagami Indians. *See* Fox Indians.
Outchipoue Indians. *See* Chippewa Indians.

PACIFIC Ocean, rivers flowing to, 200; discovery of route to, xxxix.
Paltsits, Victor Hugo, *Bibliography of Lahontan*, xxxvi, xlviii, xlix, li–xciii; of Hennepin, xlix.
Paneasse Indians, tribe of Pawnee, 200.
Panetouka Indians, tribe of Pawnee, 200.
Panimaha (Pawnee, Loup) Indians, tribe of Pawnee, 182, 199, 200.
Papinachois Indians, significance of name, 261; habitat, 261, 340; language, 339; nomads, 339, 340; trade with Jolliet, 305; missions, 340; sketch, 339, 340.
Paris, parlement of, supports Lahontan's creditors, 151, 253; members, 257; churches, 165; Lahontan in, xxvi, 252, 684–696; Adario, 536; witchcraft, 701; papers from archives, 293; editions of Lahontan in Bibliothéque Nationale, liii–xciii.

PET

Parkman, Francis, 77; cites Lahontan, xxxiv, 223; *Frontenac*, 45, 77, 124, 126, 223, 234, 241, 262, 381; *Jesuits in North America*, 58, 155, 418; *La Salle*, xxxiv, 61, 136, 145, 205; *Old Regime*, 34, 37, 217, 385.
— Club (Milwaukee), *Papers*, 133, 312.
Parrots (Paroquets), in Canada, 350, 354.
"Partridge" (Akouessan), Indian name for Longueuil, 74, 77, 81, 84.
Partridges, described, 350, 351, 353, 355, 356; numbers, 106, 356; in Newfoundland, 332; used for Indian food, 431.
Passage Courant. *See* Strait of Canso.
Passamaquoddy Indians, 328. *See also* Abenaki.
Pau, parlement of, 150, 707, 712, 713.
Pawnee Indians, sketch, 199, 200.
Pearls, in St. Lawrence River, 361.
Pears, in Canada, 367.
Pease, raised by Indians, 148; at Green Bay, 168; on River Long, 187; exported, 367, 373.
Pelicans, in Canada, 350.
Peltrie, Madame de la, patroness of Ursulines, 44.
Pemaquid (Me.), birthplace of Phips, 244; projected attack on, 265, 274.
Pennsylvania, Indians of, 320.
Penobscot Indians, 328. *See also* Abenaki.
Pentagoët, French fort at, xxviii, 328.
Peoria (Ill.), fort near, 207.
Percé Rock, fishing village at, 305. *See also* Isle Percé.
Perch, in Mississippi River, 359.
Perrot, François Marie, governor of Montreal, 53; of Acadia, 53, 327, 330; succeeded by Callières, 86; yields to English, 327; sketch, 53.
— Nicolas, French explorer, xxxix, xli; *Mémoire*, 379.
Perusse-trees, 365; described, 371.
Petit Nord, fisheries, 308, 334.

PET

Petronius, Lahontan's copy mutilated, xv, 89, 90.
Petun Indians. *See* Huron Indians.
Pheasants, in Canada, 350, 353; on Lake Erie, 322; River Long, 180.
Phips, Sir William, attack on Quebec, xxvi, 242–250; captures Port Royal, 244, 327, 330; governor of Massachusetts, 244, 289; sketch, 244.
Phoca vitulina, 349.
Pickerel, in Fox River, 174.
Pigeons (wild), numerous in Canada, 109, 110, 350, 351; migration, 109, 112.
Pike, in Canada, 358; in Mississippi, 359; Wisconsin Lakes, 174.
Pilling, James Constantine, *Bibliography of Algonquian Languages*, lii, 734.
Pine trees, in Canada, 365, 370.
Pineapples, in Canada, 364.
Pingo, Captain —, commands "Tempest," 26.
Pipestone (Minn.), quarries at, 76.
Piquer de fond, 65.
Pirates, in Atlantic, 296, 327, 374.
Pirogues, on River Long, 187, 188, 193.
Placentia (Newfoundland), location, 335; harbor, 335, 336, 338; fisheries, 336, 337, 374; fortified, 275–278, 282, 288, 289, 334, 335, 348; population, 336–338; Lahontan at, xxix, xxxi, xxxii, 275–279, 287–290, 292, 294, 295, 621, 694; English attack, xxix, 275–278, 281; natives, 309; governors, xxix, 276, 292, 337; sketch, 275.
Plaice, in Canada, 358.
Platina, Bartolommeo de Sacchis, *Vitæ Pontificium*, 703, 704.
Plovers, in Canada, 351.
Plum trees, on Lake Erie, 319.
Plums, described, 367.
Plungeons, in Canada, 350, 351.
Poagan, Indian name for calumet, 402.
Podophyllum peltatum, 368.

POR

Pointe Verte, in Placentia harbor, 278, 336.
Pole-cats, in Canada, 344; price of skins, 380.
"Poli," commanded by Iberville, 274.
Pontchartrain, Jerome Phelypeaux, count de, opposes Lahontan, 5, 10; sketch, 5.
— Louis Phelypeaux, count de, opposes Lahontan, xxvi, xxx, xxxii, 5, 10, 252, 254, 273, 280, 281, 338, 647, 688, 694–696; sketch, 5.
— Madame de, xxix, 257, 390.
Pontiac, Ottawa chief, 149, 340.
Pope, Joseph, *Jacques Cartier*, 303.
Popular Science Monthly, 76.
Porcelain. *See* Wampum.
Porcupine, in Canada, 111, 112, 344.
Porphry, in Canada, 43; on Cape Breton and Newfoundland, 333.
Porpoises, described, 358, 360.
Port au Basques (Newfoundland), 333.
— Nelson, named by Button, 311.
— Ontario (New York), 72.
— Royal (Annapolis), 265; location, 330, 331; described, 330; founded, 324, 328, 330, 331; harbor, 330, 331; basin, 330, 331; poorly fortified, 327, 330; captured by Phips, 244, 327, 330; fur-trade, 331; population, 330, 331; tercentenary celebrated, 324, 331; sketch, 330.
— Royal (France), retreat of Jansenists, 384.
Portugal, described, 9; climate, 642; manners and customs, 619–647; costumes, 641; inns, 627, 628, 634; food, 627, 634, 635; wine, 635; literature, 638, 639; music, 640, 641; religion, 639; Inquisition, xlvi, 631, 632; monks, 632, 633, 639; law, 642, 643, 646; army and navy, 643–645; sailors, 650; pay of officers, 644; use of titles, 621, 629, 641; royal order, 647; weights and measures, 646; monetary system, 645,

POR

Portugal (*continued*).
646; transportation methods, 633, 634; colonies, 282, 284; women wear veils, 636; behind gratings, 634; morality of, 635–638; witchcraft in, 701; mulattoes, 284; Lahontan in, xxxii, lxi, 282–287, 294–296, 619; cartography, 376; Portuguese in Newfoundland, 333.
Porzana carolina, 110.
Pot, French liquid measure, 430.
Potawatomi (Pouteouatami, Pouteoutami) Indians, Algonquian tribe, 398; habitat, xxiv, 167, 168, 341, 398; language, 341; totems, 511; villages, 168; bay named for, 167; at war with Iroquois, 167; Lahontan with, xxiv, 168–171; sketch, 168; characterized, 341.
Portachua. *See* Old Port au Choix.
Portage (land carriage), described, 404; at Chicago, xxiv, 207; Fox-Wisconsin described, 177, 178; history, 177, 178; Lahontan at, xxiv, 177; canal, 177; Grand, 316; from Lake Erie, 155; of Toronto, 273; au Vase (Ottawa route), 219.
Portland (Me.), fort on site, 237.
Portneuf, Jacques Robineau, sieur de, leads raid into Maine, 236, 237; seigniory, 260; seigniory harborage, 261; son, 330; sketch, 237, 260.
Poterie, Le Neuf de la, Canadian noblesse, 260.
Poutrincourt, Jean de Biencourt, sieur de, French explorer, 331.
Powder, in fur-trade, 377.
Powell, John W., "Linguistic Families of North America," 47; "Mythology of North American Indians," 435; "Wyandot Government," 499, 500.
Pownall, J., quoted, 155.
Prices, of Indian products, 148.
Prince Society, *Publications*, 312.

RAC

Prowse, D. W., *History of Newfoundland*, 334.
Ptolemy, Claudius, early geographer, 302.
Pulse, in Acadia, 325.
Puma, described, 345.
Putnam, Herbert, aid acknowledged, liii.
Pyrrho, Greek philosopher, 414.
Pyrricha, compared to Indian dance, 423.

Quail, in Canada, 353.
Quapaw Indians, habitat, 204.
Quebec (Kébec), founded, 303, 331; described, xii, xiii, xxxvii, 39–45; location, 39, 40; plan of, 41; fortifications, 40, 41, 263, 265, 266; chateau, xxvii, 40–42, 235, 262; intendant's palace, 41, 42, 243, 244, 392; bishop, 42, 43, 165, 381–383, 386, 389; churches, 42, 44, 237, 386; hospitals, 44; university, 110; city hall, 43; Jesuit college, 43, 259; Recollects, 43, 44; feudalism abolished, 34; commerce, 374–378; river transportation, 657; society, xii, xxvii, 388–390; courts, 392; local governor, 383; Frontenac in, 230, 231; Lahontan, xi, xxvii, 32, 49, 216, 226, 230, 258, 261, 262, 708; Adario, 519; attacked by English, 44, 118, 242–250; letter from, 25; archives, 304; editions of Lahontan in legislative library, liii–xciii.
Queylus, Gabriel, Sulpitian superior, 55.
Quinté, Indian village, 121, 122.
Quiros, Francesco Bernado de, Spanish diplomat, 11, 12.
Quoddy Indians, English name for Openango, 90. *See also* Etechemin.

Rabbits, in Canada, 343.
Rabeyre, Lieutenant de la, burned by Iroquois, 224.
Rackets. *See* Snow-shoes.

RAD

Radisson, Pierre Esprit, in Wisconsin, 177; visits Hudson Bay, 312; on Lake Superior, 312, 315; French reject proposals, 313; goes over to English, 313; returns to French, 313; sketch, 312; *Voyages*, 312.
Rails, in Canada, 110, 350.
Raisins, on Missouri River, 202; on Illinois, 206.
Rangifer caribou, 107.
Rapids, Allumettes (Ottawa), 216.
Raspberries, in Canada, 365, 372.
Rat, Huron chief. *See* Adario.
Rattlesnakes, in Canada, 352, 357.
Ravens, in Canada, 350, 352.
Read, John M., *Historical inquiry concerning Henry Hudson*, 309.
Recollects (Récollets), Franciscan missionaries, xxxvi; early Canadian service, 31, 43, 44, 55, 70, 413; opposed by Laval, 43; by Jesuits, 43, 44, 383, 413; supported by Frontenac, 413; aid La Salle, 144, 145; relations with Lahontan, xxxi, 290–293; opinion of Indians, 413, 414; sketch, 44, 413.
Reid Transinsular Railroad, Newfoundland, 333.
Reindeer. *See* Caribou.
Religion, Jesuit and savage compared, 517–550.
Rénard Indians. *See* Fox Indians.
Repentigny, Jean Paul le Gardeur, sieur de St. Pierre de, at Mackinac, 208, 209; messenger to Fort Frontenac, 226; sketch, 209.
Revenclaw, Count de, Danish minister, 670.
Ribbons, Canadian import, 375.
Richelieu, Cardinal Armand Jean du Plessis, establishes feudalism in Canada, 34.
Rigauville. *See* Bergères.
River Abittibi, located, 342.
— of Algonkins. *See* Ottawa.

RIV

River Allegheny, portages to, 155; Washington's embassy, 209.
— Arkansas, Indians of, 204.
— Aspe, valley of, 716.
— Aspree, shipping on, 660.
— Au Sable (Mich.), described, 143.
— Bagouasch, location, 315.
— Bois Brulé, Indian rendezvous, 315.
— Cannon, identified as River Long, xl.
— de la Chaudière, village on, 49.
— Chicago, drainage canal, 207.
— Condé, described, 321; identified, 155; fort, 155, 156; convenience, 399.
— Creuse (Deep), part of Ottawa, 216, 219.
— Des Moines (Otentas), identified as River Long, xl; described, 199, 200; Indians, 199, 200; fish, 363.
— Detroit, described, 161; islands, 139, 161; war-party on, 155, 161; fort, 139; Lahontan passes, 138.
— Divine. *See* Illinois.
— Du Fer, affluent of Hudson, 91.
— Ebro, Saragossa on, 719; navigable, 725.
— Elbe, mouth of, 659; tide, 659; shipping, 660; Hamburg on, 659, 660; Glucstat, 688.
— Famine, location, 72; La Barre's expedition at, xiii, 72–79; salmon, 74; Adario's ambuscade, 223.
— Fox (Puants, Renards), Lahontan describes, xxiv, xlii, 168, 173, 174; Indian villages, 168; French names for, 168; Jesuit mission, 168; fertility of banks, 168; navigation of, 174, 177, 178; beaver in, 481.
— French, origin of name, 218; described, 317; route to upper country, 218; navigation difficult, 218; fort advised, 399.
— Genessee, outlet of, 322; Seneca near, 137; vessels to visit, 395.
— Grand, near Lake Ontario, 321, 322.

RIV

River Grand (Mo.), Indian village at mouth, 200.
— Hudson (Manathe, Manhattan), location, 7; Indians upon, 90; connects with Canada, 91.
— Humber, on Toronto portage route, 318.
— Illinois (Seignelay), described, 205, 206; early name for, 205; navigation, 205; game on banks, 206; fruit, 206; forts, 207; portage, 207; Lahontan at mouth, xxiv, 205–207.
— Kennebec, boundary of New England, 323; Englishman captured on, 265; French missions, 329, 330.
— Lemipisaki, identified, 315.
— au Lièvre, tributary of Ottawa, 217.
— Lima, Viana on, 621.
— Lisbon (O Rey dos Rios), tide in, 641.
— Loire, 279.
— Long, described, xxiv; source, 193; affluent of Mississippi, 167, 179; shores barren, 189, 190, 197; fish and game, 179, 183, 197, 206, 363; navigation, 179, 197; Lahontan's alleged journey to, xxiii, xxiv, xxxviii–xliii, 179–197, 301, 414; limits of Lahontan's voyage, xxiv, 190; regarded as fictitious, xxiii, xxxviii, xxxix; proposed identifications, xxxix, xl; on maps, xxxviii, xlv, 301.
— du Loup, location, 51.
— of Machakandibi, identified, 315; navigation, 314.
— Maheu, fief upon, 26.
— Maitland (Ont.). *See* Theonontaté.
— Manathe. *See* Hudson.
— Manhattan. *See* Hudson.
— Maskinonge, location, 51.
— Mattawan, described, 216, 219.
— Miami (Oumamis), Indian hunting grounds on, 486.
— of Miami. *See* St. Joseph.

RIV

River Michipiciton, navigation of, 314, 315.
— Minnesota, identified with River Long, xxxix, xl.
— Mississippi, longitude, 302; described, 167, 178, 197, 205, 206; routes to, 168, 178, 207; islands, 178, 206; fish and game, 343, 359, 362, 363; parrots near, 354; crocodiles, 204, 205, 343; fruit, 367; Indians of, 174, 175, 203, 204, 342, 462, 747; early voyages on, 149, 200, 204, 205; Jolliet, 81; La Salle, 33, 88, 144, 145; Lahontan, xxiv, 178, 179, 197–200, 203–205; Le Sueur, xxxix; French fort, xxxix; fur-trade, 146; western boundary of Canada, 302, 414, 733; diseases, 465, 466.
— Missouri (Pekitanoui), significance of name, 200; current, 200, 203; fish and game, 200, 203, 363; Indians, 200, 205, 343; first visitors, 200; Lahontan explores, 200–203, 301, 465, 466; map, 301.
— Moingona. *See* Des Moines.
— Moose, identification, 315; tributary, 342.
— Muddy. *See* de Vase.
— Nelson, described, 311; post on, 313.
— Nicolet, location, 51.
— Nipigon, identified, 315.
— Nottawausaga. *See* Theonontaté.
— Ohio (Ouabouskiguo), early names for, 205; depth, 205; navigable, 205; portage, 321; boundary of Canada, 302; Indians upon, 204; Lahontan at mouth, xxiv, 205; fort at mouth, 144; parrots on, 354.
— Osage, Lahontan reaches, 202.
— Oswego (Onnontagnes, Onondaga), identified, 72, 322; vessels to visit, 395.
— Otentas. *See* Des Moines.
— Ottawa, described, xxxvii, 95; rapids, 216, 270; islands, 216; tributaries,

RIV

River Ottawa (*continued*).
216, 217, 219; union with St. Lawrence, 219; Indians on, 98, 323, 342; fur-trade route, 218, 219, 399; Lahontan descends, xxv, 216–218.
— Ouabache. *See* Wabash and Ohio.
— Ozao, Laruns on, 712.
— Papinachois, location, 261.
— Pekitanoui. *See* Missouri.
— Penobscot, French fort on, 328; Indians near, 339.
— Platte, Indians on, 200.
— Portneuf, location, 260.
— des Prairies. *See* Ottawa.
— Richelieu, location, 51, 90; trade route, 240.
— Rupert, post on, 313.
— Saco, Indians of, 90.
— St. Charles (Quebec), 41, 42, 44, 264.
— St. Clair, described, xx; ice in, 141; fort on, xviii, 139.
— St. Croix, Poutrincourt on, 331.
— St. Francis, location, 51.
— St. John, described, 325; Indians near, 339; hunting upon, 325; French on, xxviii; Englishman captured at, 265; posts upon, 324, 325.
— St. Joseph (Mich.), Lahontan at, 207, 208, 210; La Salle's fort on, 208; later French fort, 208.
— St. Lawrence, described, xxxvii, 31, 39, 264, 304; source, 304, 323; length, 304; breadth, 305; shores, 261; forests, 70; current, 304; winds, 261; becomes salt, 323; ice in, xi, 32, 38, 45, 90, 232, 249, 250, 266; navigation, 49–53, 67, 122, 261, 262, 270, 657; affluents, 49, 219, 261, 306; islands, 31, 39, 52, 118, 260, 261, 305; rapids, 67–70, 85, 122, 226, 232; lakes within, 51, 67, 219; fish, 306, 358, 360, 361, 401; harbors, 261; boats on, 239, 241, 242, 657; Indians on, 90, 221, 223, 340; early

ROC

River St. Lawrence (*continued*).
explorations, 303; voyages on, 260–262, 274; naval battles off mouth, 259, 260; French captured on, 243; Canadian boundary, 302; seigniories on, 34, 260; cities on, 38.
— St. Louis. *See* Illinois.
— St. Mary, route to, 153.
— St. Maurice, described, 50; flows into St. Lawrence, 49, 51; Indians on, 340.
— St. Peter's. *See* Minnesota.
— Saginaw, described, 319; hunting grounds of, 143, 318; Indian murder at, 146.
— Saguenay, location, 31; Jolliet ascends, 244; vessels refuge in, 244, 249.
— Salmon, identified, 72, 322.
— Sand. *See* Au Sable.
— Seignelay. *See* Illinois.
— Taio, Lahontan on, 629, 630, 648, 649.
— Tanaouate, 322; identified, 318.
— Theonontaté (Teonontaté), in Huron country, 154, 318, 322.
— of Toronto, outlet, 322.
— Trent, portage to Lake Ontario, 318.
— of Tsonontouans. *See* Genessee River and Irondequoit Creek.
— de Vase (Muddy), on Ottawa route, 219.
— Wabash (Ouabache), early name for Ohio, 205.
— Wisconsin, described, 177, 178; islands in, 177, 178; Lahontan on, xxiv, 177, 178.
— Wolf (Wis.), Indian village on, 174.
— Yamaska, location, 51.
Riverside Natural History, 478.
Roach, in Canada, 358, 362.
Robineau. *See* Portneuf.
Rochelle, port of departure for Canada, xi, xxvii, 25, 26, 40, 119, 120, 145, 229, 235, 238, 373, 374, 377; La-

ROC

Rochelle (*continued*).
hontan at, 242, 252, 257; harbor, 294; merchant of, 296, 657; Adario in, 536.
Roe-bucks, in Canada, 343; Lake Erie, 320, 322; near Detroit, 139, 161; in Illinois, 206; near Lake Michigan, 210; as food, 169, 187, 367, 482; price of skins, 380.
Rolland, François le Noir, *dit*, Lachine trader, 240.
Roots, used as medicine, 161.
Rotterdam, Lahontan at, 648, 651, 652, 692.
Rouen, birthplace of Gueudeville, xliv; merchants found Quebec, 303.
Rousseau, Jean Jacques, anticipated by Lahontan, xlvii; *Discours sur l'Origine et les Fondements de l'Inégalité parmi les Hommes*, xlvii, xlviii.
Roy, Edmond, opinion as to River Long, xl, xli; "Le Baron de Lahontan," xviii, xl, lii, 37, 151, 257, 273, 279, 288, 293, 391; bibliography of Lahontan, lii.
Ruche, fish implement, 406.
Rupert Land, Indians of, 342.

SABIN, Joseph, *Dictionary of Books relating to America*, lii, lxxv, lxxxii.
Sabres, in fur-trade, 378.
Sacacommis, identified, 474.
Saco (Me.), attacked by Indians, 90.
Saentsouan, Huron chief, 141.
Sagard-Theodat, Gabriel, *Histoire du Canada et voyages que les frères mineurs Récollets y ont faicts*, 413.
Saguenay County (Quebec), 261.
"St. Albans," English man-of-war, 276, 277.
"St. Ann," Lahontan in charge of, 274.
St. Bento, Benedictine monastery in Lisbon, 630.

ST. V

St. Castin, Anselm, son of Jean Vincent, influence with Indians, 328.
— Baron Jean Vincent, sketch, xi, 328, 329.
St. Denis. *See* Juchereau.
St. Francis de Sales, mission village, 46, 48, 49, 328.
— du Sault, mission village, 56.
— Xavier mission. *See* Green Bay.
Ste. Hélène, Jacques le Moyne, sieur de, 118; leads raid against Schnectady, 236; Lahontan encounters, 217; expedition to Hudson Bay, 217; death, 248.
St. Ignace, mission of, 146, 154.
St. John (N. B.), tercentenary celebrated, 324; attacked by English, 325.
St. John de Luz, trade with Newfoundland, 282, 288; sketch, 288.
St. John de Pied de Port, roads, 716.
St. Johns (Newfoundland), described, 333.
St. Lazare, order of, Lahontan receives, xxvi, 253, 254; history, 254.
St. Louis, La Salle's colony in Illinois, 33.
St. Lusson, Simon François Daumont, sieur de, takes possession of Northwest, 342.
St. Malo, fishers and explorers from, 308.
St. Michel, —, captured by Iroquois, 270.
— order of, ix.
St. Nazaire, French harbor, 279, 281, 287.
St. Pierre, Jacques le Gardeur, sieur de, receives Washington, 209.
St. Simon, Louis de Rouvroy, duc de, *Memoirs*, 227.
St. Sulpice, Parisian church, 165.
St. Vallier, Jean Baptiste de la Croix Chevrière, abbé de, bishop of Quebec, 165, 383; arrives in Canada, 232;

ST. V

St. Vallier (*continued*).
visits diocese, 232; adjusts curés, 386; intercedes for English envoy, 246; sketch, 165, 383; portrait, 165.
"Salleeman," pirate ship, 296.
Salmon, in Acadia, 324; Canada, 358; Newfoundland, 333; Famine River, 74.
Salvelinus namycush, 148.
Sandaouires, Huron Indian, 146.
Santee Indians. *See* Issati.
Sasteretsi, Huron chiefs, sketch, 461.
Sauk (Saki) Indians, habitat, xxiv, 168, 341; language, 341; village, 168; entertain Lahontan, xxiv, 168–171; amalgamate with Foxes, 175, 397, 398; sketch, 168; characterized, 341.
Sault du Buisson, St. Lawrence rapid, 67.
— des Cedres, St. Lawrence rapid, 67.
— de la Chaudiere. *See* St. Francis de Sales.
— Long (of Ottawa), defended by Dollard, 217; Lahontan passes, 217; Iroquois battle, 270.
— Long (of St. Lawrence), 67, 68.
— au Récollet, mission village, 55.
— Ste. Marie, described, 152, 153, 316; legend, 152; Indians of, 149, 152, 340, 342, 493, 494; war-party from, xxii, 153; Lahontan at, xxii, 152, 153; fort, 149, 488, 489; mission, xviii, 149; importance, 149, 152; sketch, 149.
— St. Louis origin of name, 66; described, 66, 67; mission village on, 56, 239, 339, 340; Lahontan endangered in, xxv, 219; Jolliet loses papers in, 219, 244.
Saulteur Indians. *See* Chippewa.
Saurel, Pierre de, Canadian seignior, 52.
Savary, A. W., *County of Annapolis*, 330.
Saw-mills, in Canada, 371.
Scadding, Henry, antiquarian of Toronto, 154, 155, 318; *Toronto of Old*, 318.

SHI

Schefer, John, *Lapland*, 705.
Schenectady (Corlaer), raided by French, 233, 235, 236.
Schuyler, Peter, leads raiding party, 262; "Report," 262.
Sciuropterus volucella, 348.
Scotch, in Nova Scotia, 331.
Scurvy, described, 406; causes, 676-678.
Sea of Jesso, seeking passage to, 310.
— of Saragossa, described, 9.
— Vermillion. *See* Pacific Ocean.
Sea-cows, described, 358, 361.
— parrots, described, 351, 355.
— mews, described, 351, 355.
Seals (sea-wolves), described, 349; in Acadia, 326; Canada, 344; hunted, 31, 333; skins in trade, 305, 307-309; price, 380; for canoes, 307; considered as fish, 326.
Seignelay, Jean Baptiste, marquis de, French minister, 118; Lahontan accredited to, 250–252; Lahontan's letter to, xxi, 149–152; death of, xxvi, 251, 252; successor, 252.
Seigneuries sauvage, trade stations, 325.
Seneca (Tsonontouans) Indians, habitat, 58, 127, 130, 131, 137, 323, 341; language, 341; domestic animals, 131; arms, 513; at war with Miami, 162; English should remove, 399; enemies of French, 77, 80; destroy La Salle's fort, 131; ambush Denonville, 128; country laid waste, xvi, 130, 131.
Severance, Frank H., *Old Trails on Niagara Frontier*, 131.
Seven Trumpets, 686, 704.
Shad, in Canada, 358.
Shawnee (Chauanon) Indians, sketch, 82.
Shea, John Gilmary, translator, 149, 217; "Huron Indians," 155; *Discovery and Exploration of Mississippi Valley*, 204; *Early Voyages on Mississippi*, 200.
Shell-fish, in Canada, 359, 361.
Shirts (linen), in fur-trade, 377.

SIL

Sillery, mission village, 46, 48, 49, 329, 330, 339, 340.
Silver mines, near Lake Erie, 322.
Simcoe County (Ont.), Hurons in, 154.
Siouan family, tribes of, 200, 202, 204, 305, 342, 343, 398; migrations, 200, 204.
Sioux (Nadouessioux) Indians, significance of name, 175; described, xxxix; habitat, 175, 342; language, 342, 343; totems, 511; relations with Foxes, 175, 176; enemies of, 182, 198, 199; war with Iroquois, 198, 199; Duluth among, 73; missions, xviii; Lahontan ignorant of their country, 342, 343.
Slavery, among Indians, 94, 104, 169; among French in Illinois, 169.
Sledges, described, xii, 406.
Sloops, described, 656–658; advantages of Dutch, 657; cost of passage on, 656.
Small-pox, among Indians, 595, 603.
Smelt, in Canada, 358.
Smithsonian Institution, *Reports*, 477.
Snipe, in Canada, 110, 351.
Snow-shoes, described, xii, 103, 104.
Soap, in fur-trade, 378.
Sokoki (Soccoki) Indians, habitat, 90, 328; language, 339; enemies of Mohawk, 90; wandering, 328; in fur-trade, 90; sketch, 90; characterized, 339.
Sonkaskiton Indians. *See* Choukasketon.
Sorcery, penalty for, 562, 563.
Sorel, described, 52, 90.
Souffleur, large sea-fish, 358, 360.
Souriquois Indians. *See* Micmac.
South America, ships from refuge at Placentia, 335.
Southey, Robert, Lahontan memoir in library of, xxxiv.
Souza, Don John of, Portuguese governor-general, 621.
Spain, Lahontan in, xxxiii; his letter from, 718-731; war with, 5; diplomats,

SUL

Spain (*continued*).
12; treasure ships, 244; mulattoes, 284.
Spanheim, Ezekiel, *History of Cæsars*, 692.
Spaniards, Lahontan's party mistaken for, 190, 191; inhabit New Mexico, 191, 192; savages taken for, 192, 193; Lahontan inquires for, 204; fishery at Newfoundland, 308; port of, 308.
Sparrow-hawks, in Canada, 352.
Spars, used in canoes, 407.
Spermophile tridecemlineatus, 348.
Squanto, Indian warrior, 90.
Squash. *See* Citrouille.
Squirrels, in Canada, 343, 344, 348.
Starlings, in Canada, 352.
Sterlets, in Canada, 351, 355.
Stockings (worsted), in fur-trade, 377.
Strait of Belle Isle, separates Newfoundland, 309, 334.
— Canso (Campceaux, Canseaux), origin of name, 325.
— of Dardanelles, 680; ceremony in passing, 29.
— Davis's, discovered, 309, 310.
— of Detour, location, 153.
— of Gibraltar, 680; ceremony in passing, 29; ship founders off, 289.
— Hudson, discovery of, 309, 310.
— of Mackinac, described, 147, 148; post on, xx.
— of Sund, ceremony in passing, 29; toll exacted at, 679, 680.
Strawberries, in Canada, 365, 372.
Sturgeon, described, 156, 361, 362; in Great Lakes, 316, 320, 359.
Sugar, scarce in Canada, 369, 374, 375.
Suicide, practised by Indians, 530.
Sulpitians, seigneurs of Montreal, 52, 55; missions of, 54, 55, 70; seminary at Montreal, 55; at Paris, 55, 165; arrive in Canada, 55; fiefs of, 55; in New World, 145; sketch, 55.

SUL

Sulte, Benjamin, "Le Regiment de Carignan," 36; "Pierre Boucher et son Livre," 98; "Pretendues Origines des Canadiens Français," 37; "La Rivière des Trois Rivières," 51; *Histoire des Canadiens Français*, 41, 330.
Susquehannock Indians, 321.
Swallows, in Canada, 350, 352.
Swans, in Canada, 350.
Swift, Jonathan, *Gulliver's Travels*, xlii.
Sword-blades, in fur-trade, 377.
Sword-fish, struggle with whale, 30.

Tabitibi Indians. *See* Abittibi.
Tadoussac, location, 31, 261; history, 31; seigniories near, 260; fur-trade, xxxvii; English fleet off, 242, 244, 249.
Tahuglauk Indians, habitat, xxiv, 195; characteristics, 194, 196; manufactures, 194, 195; wars, 196.
Talon, Ottawa chief, 153, 317.
— Jean, intendant of New France, 42, 163; befriends Perrot, 53; successor, 228; brings back Recollects, 413.
Taniias striatus, 348.
Tanner, Herbert B., "Early Kaukauna," 174.
Tazou, Indian measure of distance, 192.
Teals, in Canada, 109, 351.
Tecumseh, precursor of, 149.
Teganissoren, Onondaga chief, sketch, 222.
"Tempest," carries Lahontan to Canada, 26.
Temple, Sir Thomas, grantee in Nova Scotia, 265.
Tench, in Mississippi River, 359.
Temiscaming (Temiskamink) Indians, characterized, 342.

TOB

Teton (Atinton) Indians, Siouan tribe, 342, 343.
Têtu, Henri, *Palais episcopal de Quebec*, 42.
Texas, La Salle's expedition to, 145.
Thallassartos maritimus, 348.
Thegarouhies, Seneca village, 131.
Thévenot, Nicolas M., *Réceuil des Voyages Curieux*, 412.
Thomas, Cyrus, "Maya Calendar," 428.
Thornbacks, in Canada, 358.
Thread, in fur-trade, 378.
Three Rivers (Lake Superior), 316.
Three Rivers (St. Lawrence), 48; described, xxxvii, 49–51; governors of, 51, 98, 131, 266, 383; fort, 239; courts of justice, 392; commerce, 376.
Thrushes, in Canada, 350.
Thwaites, Reuben G., *Down Historic Waterways*, 178; *Early Western Travels*, 93, 304, 417, 433, 457, 510, 514, 734; *Hennepin's New Discovery*, 70, 136, 137, 176, 335, 413, 460; *How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest*, 92, 146, 315; *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 343, 427, 431, 474, 483; "Story of Chequamegon," 315; "Story of Mackinac," 92, 146; *Withers's Chronicles*, 506. *See also Jesuit Relations.*
Timber, of Canada, 366, 373, 374.
Tobacco, raised by Indians, 474; Indians prize Brazilian, 140, 169, 207, 373, 377, 474; strongest known, 474, 475; Canadian resembles Spanish, 364; differs from Brazilian, 474; amount raised, 373; imported, 373; tariff on, 373; cargoes, 287; price, 373, 375; Lahontan gives as present, 169, 174, 176; boxes imported, 375.
"Toby," vessel. *See* "Joli."

TOM

Tomahawk (casse-tête), defined, 402.
Tonty, Henri de, La Salle's lieutenant, 125, 133; in Illinois, 125, 133, 207; granted Fort St. Louis, 125, 133, 207; Lahontan accompanies, xviii, 133, 207; at Detroit, 133; in Louisiana, 133; at Fort St. Joseph, xx, 139; respected by Indians, 207; sketch, 133.
Toronto, portage, 318. *See also* Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay.
Torontogueronon Indians, language of, 733.
Townsend, Capt. —, English naval officer, 650, 651.
"Tract Scuyt," Holland boat, described, 652.
Tracy, Alexander Prouville, marquis de, governor of New France, 52, 59.
Treaties, French shore of Newfoundland (1904), 333, 334; Ryswick, 236, 265; Utrecht, 5, 314, 334.
Trochilus colubris, 354.
Trout, in Great Lakes, 148, 316, 359; Newfoundland, 333; River Long, 190; Lake Erie, 320; size, 148, 362, 363; inferior to whitefish, 148; enemies of armed-fish, 362; manner of catching, 148, 363; used as bait, 113; as food, 467, 482, 491.
Troyes, Chevalier de, commandant at Niagara, 131, 162.
Tsonontouan Indians. *See* Seneca.
Turbots, in Canada, 358.
Turcot, —, coureur de bois, 141.
Turenne, Count de, his son, 11.
Turkey wheat, 139, 140, 199, 202.
Turkeys, furnished by mission Indians, 70; in Canada, 350; near Lake Michigan, 210; in Illinois, 206; Detroit, 161; Missouri River, 200; Lake Erie, xix, 138, 320, 322.
Turtle doves. *See* Pigeons.

VIN

United States Bureau of Ethnology, editions of Lahontan in library, liii–xciii; *Bulletins*, 428; *Reports*, 47, 169, 175, 435, 468, 499, 509, 510, 512.
— Geological Survey, *Contributions to Ethnology*, 418.
Upper country (pays en haut), route to, 95, 164; Indians descend from, 241; French take possession of, xviii; project for fortifyiug, xxix, xlv, 271–273.
Ursulines, in Canada, 44.
Ursus americanus, 347.

Vaccinium canadense, 372.
Valrennes, Philippe Clément Duvault, sieur de, commandant at Fort Frontenac, 226, 233; returns to Montreal, 226; defeats English, 262; sketch, 226.
Vaudreuil, Philippe de Rigaud, marquis de, governor of Canada, 119; rescues Lahontan, xxv, 219; notified of English attack (1711), 222; pursues Iroquois, 270, 271; sketch, 119.
Vaugiraud, birthplace of Sulpitian order, 55.
Vaugondy, Robert de, map of, xxxviii.
Vermillion, in fur-trade, 378.
Verazzano, Giovanni da, discovers Canada, 303.
Versailles, Lahontan visits, xxvii, xxx, xxxiii, xlvi, 252–257, 279, 280; court described, xxvii, 254–257.
Vetromile, Eugene, *Abenakis and their History*, 328.
Victor (N. Y.), Indian village near, 127.
Viele, Arnout Cornelisse, peace messenger, 157.
Ville Marie. *See* Montreal.
Villedonné, Etienne de, captured by Iroquois, 224.
Vincennes, Jean Bissot, sieur de, 244.

VOL

Voltaire, Françoise Marie Arouet, *dit*, anticipated by Lahontan, xlvii.
Vujer, John Nider de, works of, 703.
Vultures, in Canada, 350, 352–354.

WAHPETON (Ouadebaton) Indians, Siouan tribe, 342, 343.
Walnuts, on Lake Erie, 319; in Seneca country, 131.
Wampum, use of, 431; belts, 75, 76, 93.
Wapiti. *See* Elk.
War, Frontenac's (1689–97), 55, 60, 61, 69, 70, 118, 125, 149, 209, 239, 240, 275, 328; Queen Anne's (Spanish Succession, 1702–13), 5, 12, 99; officer in, 209.
Washington, Maj. George, visits French on Allegheny, 209.
Watches, imported, 375.
Water-fowl, in Acadia, 331; in Newfoundland, 332, 355, 356; near Lake Champlain, xiv, 108, 109.
Watermelons, in Canada, 364, 368, 369.
Waupaca County (Wis.), Indian village in, 175.
Wayne, Gen. Anthony, victory over Indians, 461.
Wea Indians. *See* Ouiatonon.
Weasels, in Canada, 343, 380.
Weir, Robert Stanley, *Administration of Old Regime in Canada*, 34, 45.
Wells, H. P., "The Beaver," 479, 483.
West Indies, French possessions in, 26, 288, 289, 334; French officers in, 59, 236; death of Iberville, 236; Spanish treasure, 244; English fleet, 288, 289; commerce, 374.
Whales, struggle with sword-fish, 30; off Newfoundland, 333; in Canada, 358. *See also* Balenots.
Wheler, Sir Francis, besieges Placentia, 288, 289; sketch, 289.
Whistlers (sifflers), described, 110, 111, 344.

WIS

White, Andrew D., *Warfare of Science with Theology*, 704.
Whitefish, at Mackinac, 147; as food, 147, 148, 169, 363; netted, 147; in Great Lakes, 316, 359.
White-wood, of Canada, 365, 371, 372.
Wildcats, called "children of Devil," 344; Lahontan hunts, 115; skins, 376, 380.
Wild rice, Indian food, 174, 175.
William III (Prince of Orange), king of England, 3, 217; orders attack on Placentia, 278; invades England, 12.
Williams, Commodore —, attacks Placentia, 275–279.
— Roger, writings of, 734.
Wines, exported to Canada, 373; made in Canada, 368; value, 375; of Aragon, 721; Denmark, 671; Germany, 663; Holland, 663.
Winnebago Indians, Siouan tribe, 398; significance of name, 146; habitat, 398; bay and river named for, 167, 168.
— Rapids (Wis.), 174.
Winship, George Parker, aid acknowledged, liii.
Winsor, Justin, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, lii.
Winthrop, Gen. John, commands Canadian expedition, 240.
Wisconsin, early exploration of, 209; fertility, 168; route to Mississippi, 168, 177, 178; Indians, 77, 168, 174, 175, 341, 398; Indian wars, xlvi; Lahontan visits, 167–178; mission in, 168; territory of, 178; Historical Society, staff of, xlviii; editions of Lahontan in library of, liii–xciii; erects monument, 168; *Historical Collections*, 77, 82, 99, 139, 140, 146, 174, 175, 177, 312, 315, 317, 343, 460, 461, 506; *Proceedings*, 168, 174, 312.

WIT

Witchcraft, Lahontan on, 696–710; penalty for, 562–564.
Withers, Alexander, *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, 506.
Wolf Indians. *See* Loup.
Wolverine. *See* Carcajou.
Wolves, Canadian, 343; on River Long, 183; do not attack beavers, 480; traps, 483, 484; price of skins, 380.
Wood-hens, 351; as food, 105, 169; hunted, 115, 116.
Woolen cloth, Canadian import, 377.

ZIZ

Wrightstown (Wis.), rapids near, 174.
Wyandot Indians. *See* Huron.

Yamaska County (Quebec), Indian mission in, 49.
Yankton Indians, Siouan tribe, 343.
Yellowstone National Park, beaver-preserve in, 481.

Zeno, cited by Lahontan, 419.
Zizania aquatica, 175.

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